

REFLECTIONS OF POWER:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CAROLINGIAN AND  
BYZANTINE FÜRSTENSPIEGEL

A THESIS PRESENTED BY

KUTLU AKALIN

TO

THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF HISTORY

BILKENT UNIVERSITY

SEPTEMBER 1999

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I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History.

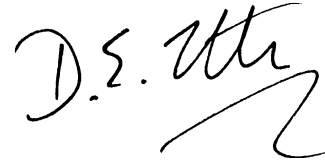
Dr. Eugenia Kermeli



[Supervisor]

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Dr. David E. Thornton



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Dr. Paul Latimer



Approved by the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Ali Karaosmanoğlu



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## PREFACE

All biblical references are to *Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) which includes most of the biblical quotations found in Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel* as well as other passages of the Bible which are not included in most English translations.

In the translation of sources in Latin, I used Murray, Chambers, *Latin-English Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1933), Blaise, Albert, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs du Moyen-Age* (Turnholt, 1975), and Niermeyer, J. F., *Mediae latinitatis lexikon minus* (Leiden, 1984).

In the translation of the Greek works I used *Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon* 7th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889; 1996), 'the Middle Liddell'.

I intend to offer my gratitude to Prof. Halil İnalçık for his continuous encouragement of my studying Byzantine History, and to Dr Cadoc Leighton and Dr Paul Latimer for their insistence on this topic for my dissertation thesis. I am in immense debt to my advisors Dr Eugenia Kermeli and Dr David E. Thornton who had been most patient with my many mistakes and meanders in the completion of this study; Dr Kermeli also offered help with the Greek translations and Dr Thornton with spelling and grammar and the last touches. Special thanks go to Özlem Çaykent for her remarkable help in translations from German. And finally cordial thanks to Axel, Pırıl, and Mert for their companionship in both the difficult and the not-so-difficult stages of the work.

## ABBREVIATIONS

MGH, Conc.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Concilia
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION TO *FÜRSTENSPIEGEL*

The term *Fürstenspiegel* –*Mirror for Princes*– in its Latin phrase *Speculum Regum* –*Mirror of Kings*– appeared for the first time in the title of a treatise by Gottfried von Viterbo in the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> He did not offer an explanation of why he used this title instead of another, and although this title happens to encompass a whole genre of literature in its implication for us, von Viterbo was satisfied to list ‘all the kings’ who had ruled up to the twelfth century.

Although in modern German *Fürst* means prince, it meant then the Prince, in the sense of ruler, autocrat, and hence it gave a list of not the princes as opposed to kings, but the rulers themselves. Also, grammatically, it means the princes’ mirror, as in its Latin form. However, it would be wise to use the English translation *Mirror for Princes*, with the implication that it is a work intended for princes with different approaches to the subject-matter, rather than a work whose subject-matter is only things pertaining to princes and nothing else.

The word *speculum* is from classical Latin and, according to Alain Dubreucq, it means not only *mirror*, but also the *image of the object* in the mirror.<sup>2</sup>

It is a genre which tells the prince how to behave and educate himself and it is assimilated to a mirror in the sense that, being a small, the prince ought to carry it with him in order to read from it as often as possible. This actual sense is directly preserved in the *Mirror* which a Carolingian mother wrote for her son, when describing her work as a *libellus manualis*, a small handbook.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jonas d’Orléans: *Le Métier de Roi (De institutione regia)*, ed. by Alain Dubreucq, Sources Chrétiennes, 407 (Paris: Les éditions du CERF, 1995), p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d’Orléans*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhuoda: Manuel pour mon fils*, ed. by Pierre Riché, Sources Chrétiennes, 225 bis, 2nd edn (Paris: Les éditions du CERF, 1991).



The depth of the genre extends well into the fourth century BC, to the two speeches of Isocrates (436-338 BC), which can be described as the earliest examples of the *Fürstenspiegel* in the West. These are the *Ad Nicoclem* and *Euagoras*. The *Ad Demonicum* attributed to Isocrates also contains certain elements and characteristics that are seen in the genre but cannot be rightfully included.

Before the overture of the *Fürstenspiegel* proper, it is worth adding that, a genre which can be described as the opposite of the *Fürstenspiegel* dates even further into the literary past.<sup>4</sup> In what is called an Anti-Mirror for Princes, it is told how a genuine prince, a true ruler cannot, and ought not to behave. The account of Thersites in the second book of the *Iliad* is the earliest example of it. Thersites walks into the middle of the assembly of the kings and leaders, emitting a terrible yell. He is described as using disorderly words (επεα ακοσμη), and very soon it is repeated again that his speech is not duly, unattractive, unadorned (ου κατα κοσμον). Taking into consideration that this is an Anti-Mirror for Princes, the κοσμος, the order in beauty, is the first point of the definition of a true ruler. Also the looks of Thersites is anything but royal: 'with bow legs ... (body) covered with scanty wool'. This is how a ruler should *not* look. Thersites is a counter-Mirror to the world of the aristocracy, as it is described in the *Iliad*, and his behaviour towards the warlike kings is very inappropriate. One direct lesson from this anti-Mirror for Princes is that, no ruler or king should behave like Thersites. Thersites' account is not the sole example of Anti-Mirror for Princes. There is a second example of the anti-Mirror for Princes dating to the palace revolution of John Comnenus in 1201:

He carried the crown, but without Purple or Gold, but he looked as if someone had brought out an actor in public. He was swept away by a wild passion, he was in every respect low of spirit and completely lifeless. He did not lead, but rather was led, did not give instructions, but was

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<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel: Agapetos, Theophylakt von Ochrid, Thomas Magister*, Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 14 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), pp. 1-3.

instructed, he did not issue commands, but was ordered, did not dominate, but was dominated, he was not a lord, but a subject, did not have power, but was under power; did not acquire slaves, was enslaved; he carried out everyone's orders, at everybody's command.<sup>5</sup>

The essential characteristics of the *Fürstenspiegel* are the depiction of the kind of world in which the prince lives, a definition of kingship/rulership with its relations with other powers in the world, the expectations from the prince, a display of the conduct of the ideal prince and of the danger that will be met if such a conduct is neglected.

The first examples of *Fürstenspiegel* also display the indispensable properties of all the samples of the genre: The very first example, *Ad Nicoclem*, is fairly suitable to draw these characteristics from, and has also strongly influenced both the Carolingian and the Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel*. Isocrates presents a ruler in intimate terms with the author, probably in a position of teacher and student. However, there is a distinct identification of the Prince. The author is also conscious of his role in the Prince's education. In this speech of Isocrates, the teacher tries to give to his former student the general instructions for proper behaviour, so that in the end he will prepare and get armed to face his manifold duties as a ruler. Thus, in the ninth section of the speech, Isocrates lists the tasks of the ruler. He should lead the state to prosperity, relieve it from any distress, and enlarge it.<sup>6</sup>

After this description of the political goal, Isocrates introduces the idea of the cultivation or the care of the soul. The king should try to surpass his subjects in intelligence. For this a good education is necessary. He should care for the nobility of his soul, and should honour the magnitude of his social position through the care of

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<sup>5</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 2 citing F. Grabler, *Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopel*, *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, 9 (Graz-Wien-Köln: [n.pub.], 1958), pp. 271-316.

<sup>6</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 3, and Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 9, 2 vols (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1966), I, 200 citing from G. Norlin, ed., *To Nicocles*, 5 ([n.p.]: Loeb, 1928), I, 42.

virtue. Furthermore, the king should be philanthropic and should love his state. Then, he should appoint only the best men into official positions, as well as making sure that his subjects never suffer injustice. For, here lies the basic element and the most important root of good state running.<sup>7</sup>

In section 20, Isocrates gives information about the religious duties of the ruler.

Serve the gods like your father did, but keep in mind that it is the most beautiful sacrifice (sacrificial offering) and the best worship (divine service), if you wish to die as a neutral and good man before someone worthy of heaven.<sup>8</sup>

Then comes the discussion of the question of how the ruler behaves towards his friends. Now, in section 21, he says that if he needs three things in order to protect his existence and promote it: to ensure that the life of his friends is ethically valuable, to regard the benevolent convictions of his citizens, his subjects, as his own convictions. As the third element, the true leader should choose his friends from among those with whose help the management of the body politic would be run the best. This should become the strict difference between the real friends and those who only pretend to be friends and who are nothing other than flatterers and bootlickers.

The difference between these two groups is easy to identify:

Do not give your friendship to everyone who desires it, but only to those who are worthy of you. ... Subject your associates to the most searching tests. ... Regard as your most faithful friends, not those who praise everything you say or do, but those who criticise your mistakes. ... Distinguish between those who artfully flatter and those who loyally serve you, that the base may not fare better than the good. ... Govern yourself no less than your subjects, and consider that you are in the highest sense a king when you are a slave to no pleasure but rule over your desires more firmly than over your people.<sup>9</sup>

The ruler should rule over his own passions more than over his subjects. This ideal is underlined with the emphasis that the prince ought not to live as he likes, whereas

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<sup>7</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 4, and Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, p. 200.

<sup>9</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, p. 201 citing *To Nicocles*, 5, pp. 54-56.

he thinks that others should live respectably. The self-control of the king should become a model for the subjects.

Another demand is for the civility, or erudition, of the ruler.<sup>10</sup> Here, Isocrates hints at the importance of busying oneself with philosophy and history. 'If you have the past in front of your eyes, you can reach for better decisions into the future.'

Isocrates ends his speech with an epilogue, in which it is emphasised again how important it is to concern oneself with literature and tragedy, for Hesiod, Theognis, Phocylides, Homer and the first tragedy-writers had seen through the nature of man fully and totally and stated it very well.

### **An Overview of the Examples of *Fürstenspiegel* of the Classical and Medieval Periods<sup>11</sup>**

Besides Isocrates we have the dialogue *Hieron* of Xenophon in which the misfortune of a tyrant is handled. Also the *Agesialos* of Xenophon is to be mentioned for the encomiastic literature. With his *Education of Cyrus* (Κυροπαίδεια) Xenophon had created the new form of the historical novel, which will become of greater significance in the following centuries. The writings of Plato follow, the relevant ones among which will only be mentioned but will not be analysed: *Politeia*, *Politicós*, *Nomoi*, the dialogues *Gorgias*, *Charmides*, and also *Kritias*.

The true blossoming of the *Fürstenspiegel* literature (without the profoundness of the platonic doctrine of the Idea or the Dialectic) falls first to the Hellenistic times.

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<sup>10</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 5 citing from W. Münch, *Gedanken über Fürstenerziehung aus alter und neuer Zeit* (Munich: [n.publ.], 1909), p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> In compiling the following survey, I have benefitted significantly from Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, esp. pp. 5-12, and from Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12, 2 vols (Munich: Beck, 1913), I, 157-165.

Just one very small example from this period, from Theophrastus, the writer of *Characters*, is a writing entitled *In Which Way the States can be Best Directed*. The other examples from the Hellenistic age are:

Macedonian king, Antigonos Gonatas (influenced by Stoicism, the King performing honourable service both to the Gods and to the men), Sthenidas who teaches that the true and the just king must be an imitator of God, Diotogenes who argues that the kings should be 'law incarnate,' or *lex animata* / νόμος ἐμψυχός:

How God behaves to the World, so does the King behave to the State; and how the State behaves to the World, just like that does the king behave to the God.<sup>12</sup>

According to Diotogenes, it is the king's duty to lead everyone to harmony. The absolute king should be a good commander, a good judge, and a good priest.

Ecphantus says the king should live in genuine self-control, he should be the cause of every good thing; he should never do any harm or stem grief from himself. He sees the explanation of this demand in the behaviour of the king towards God: since God wills only Good and commands only Good, the humans obey Him. A ruler who models himself after God, is loved by the people and will be obeyed by them, because (Ecphantus says) 'neither the stars nor the universe can hate God in their totality' for God wills only Good for them. Here is introduced an indication of Pythagorean thought, that the king should bring up his dominion through imitation of God, and that the king stands right in the middle of God and men. The argument of the imitation of God through the king is also found in the noteworthy *Letter of Aristeas* from the Jewish populace of Alexandria.<sup>13</sup>

In the Hellenistic Age, *Fürstenspiegel* are also handed down from different philosophical teachings and schools. The Jewish Philon of Alexandria is in the row of the publishers of *Fürstenspiegel*, also the Roman stoic Seneca, whose work *De*

*Clementia (Concerning Mercy)* to Caesar Nero, a mirror, can be regarded as a portrait. Not less important are the four speeches *On Kingdom* from the pen of the celebrated orator Dion of Prusa, with which he addressed Caesar Trajan. From the panegyrics, it should suffice to mention Plinius the Younger, Aelius Aristides, Rhetor Menander, and lastly from the fourth century, the big orator Libanius.<sup>14</sup>

The second panegyric of Julian (when he was on military duty in France before he became emperor) to Caesar Constantius II reflects a property of the later *Fürstenspiegel* to come:

This document can be read as a political treatise as well. The philosopher as Monarch, as the Caesar here puts so enthusiastically is of course an Ideal Ruler, which he on his own strives to realise one day.<sup>15</sup>

The awareness of the author with the fact that his writing is trying to educate the reader, and that preferably a noble, a prince, is a fixed characteristic of the *Fürstenspiegel* genre.

The deepest expression of the education of the ruler, albeit self-education, is attested in the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, which can therefore be called a *Prince's Mirror for Himself*. Julian makes a satire of Marcus Aurelius in his *Caesares* by making him give the answer 'Imitation of Gods' to the question of the most beautiful goal of life. Marcus Aurelius sees the following as the most important intent of his emperorship:

I do my duty; the rest does not deflect me. For it is neither without soul or without reason nor does it stray nor is without knowledge of the manners.<sup>16</sup>

In the Christian *Fürstenspiegel*, the most wide-spread idea is the image of Christ, as whose representative the King appears on Earth. The king has the function of

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<sup>12</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>15</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 8 citing Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, 6: 22.

negotiation, just as Christ is the Negotiator. This thought is visited in manifold variations of the Christian *Fürstenspiegel*, especially in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea.<sup>17</sup> The kingly ruler is, for him, an Image of Christ and a friend of God, and so it is the duty of this ruler to realise the kingdom of Christ over the world.

In its basic components, as the basic doctrine of Christianity puts out, the *Fürstenspiegel* of the Byzantine East differentiates from that of the Latin West in not the smallest things. However, they still found their basic premises in the writings of Isocrates and the Hellenistic authors cited above.

*Fürstenspiegel* literature in the Christian West begins with a chapter from *De Civitate Dei* (*On the City of God*) of St Augustine which in later ages proves to be extraordinarily influential.

Really lucky can be called the rulers, only who lead a just reign and who do not rise in pride and arrogance, who always keep in mind that they are men, and men only.<sup>18</sup>

The core of this passage from St Augustine is traced back to his basic conviction that humility and arrogance are in a constant conflict with each other, and with humility (which he equates to the love of the creatures to God), on the one hand, the members of the heavenly city, with haughty pride and arrogance –love of creatures to their own– on the other hand, only those of the earthly city are defined.

This was an important thought in all the Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel*, that the rulers differentiate themselves from the other men in their possession of power and in nothing else, and that above all a *Fürstenspiegel* should contain in its foundation, a general thought of ethic-moral behaviour for everyone. St Augustine turns to and describes further the difference between the two cities, to qualify the good(=lucky) and the evil ruler.

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<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>18</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 10.

Agapetus is the sixth-century deacon of Hagia Sophia. He wrote the *Ekthesis*. It is a book of 72 chapters of advice to emperor Justinian I on how to rule.<sup>19</sup>

The emperor is God's representative on Earth, unamenable to human pressure, but himself a mere man, who shapes his kingdom into an imitation of heaven by his own philosophy, purity, piety, and exercise of philanthropy.

Deacon Agapetus established, based on Rhetor Menander, the traditional paradigm of the emperor, which was developed later in the treatise attributed to Basil I (addressing his son Leo), the *66 Hortatory Chapters*:<sup>20</sup> the ruler should combine sound moral principles with Christian virtues and a godlike philanthropy.

In the eleventh century, two new virtues were added to the imperial ideal, those of noble origin and of personal military prowess: while Cecaumenus still clung to the image of a civilian *basileus* in the second half of the eleventh century, for Theophylact of Ochrid in first half of the twelfth century, martial character was indispensable. Byzantine authors used pseudo-Isocrates' *Ad Demonicum* and other classical examples to develop the imperial paradigm. Elements of the *Fürstenspiegel* penetrate various strains of Byzantine literature, from *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, which is a Christian version of the life of the Buddha, to historical works (e.g., *Vita Basilii* of Michael Attoliates).

Cecaumenus (second half of the eleventh century, and he is not the military strategist Catacolon Cecaumenus) wrote a moralistic book under the conventional titles *Strategikon* or *Precepts and Anecdotes*. Circumspection and apprehension are the main tendencies: man lives in a dangerous and hostile world and cannot trust anyone; neither friends nor servants are reliable. In his work abstract admonitions are combined with vivid stories about military ruses and everyday cunning.

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<sup>19</sup> All information on Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel* is from Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, pp. 30-56.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 3.



Blum states that the work of Cecaumenus is rightfully a *Fürstenspiegel*, which distinguishes itself from some other works of this genre out of Byzantium.<sup>21</sup> The writer depends on an exposition to his times of the weaknesses and the damages of rulership and of the imperial office. Also he draws up a specific example 'from contemporary history.

Cecaumenus first remembers the old teaching, according to which the emperor is not subject to law, rather he himself is the law. Cecaumenus confers his argument on his conviction that, there is one individual God, who raised a man to become the emperor, that God is also the founder of the imperial seat. According to this firm teaching, he submits to the demand of justice, for here lies the seat of the realisation of the four cardinal virtues. So Cecaumenus advocates another argument for an ethically worthy behavior: 'The emperor is the prototype and the model for all; everyone looks at him and imitates his change.' There are instructions about the selection of friends and the banishment of the flatterers which do not differentiate much from the other *Fürstenspiegel* met. Only the advice that the emperor should deem himself a man, which is seen as a very professional criticism, is not read in the other publications.

What Cecaumenus renounces is the coarse, deplorable state of affairs (he does not so much refer to it openly, but in justifications his openness is much definite): the incompetence of the judge, the actors' rise to become high officials, the shortages of pay, the entrusting of the influential posts to foreigners. He castigates the bad equipment of the war fleet and the incapacity of its commanders. In the end, he turns to the opinion of much high taxes and financial bequeaths. All in all, we have here (at

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<sup>21</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 42.

Byzantine proportions) an original *Fürstenspiegel*, whose basic message fits into the celebrated literary scheme.

Theophylact of Ohrid (or Ochrid, archbishop from 1088/9, died after 1126) was a pupil of the erudite professor and patriarch Michael Psellus. As the teacher of Constantine Doukas, son of Michael VII, Theophylact produced around 1085/6 a *Fürstenspiegel* addressed to his pupil, in which he praised noble origin and martial prowess as necessary qualities of a successful ruler. Theophylact finished his education in Athens and Constantinople. He was a student of Michael Psellus (1018-1078), an eminent scholar and patriarch. His education in rhetorics and theology opened him the ecclesiastical career. He became the deacon at Hagia Sophia (like Agapetus). Emperor Michael VII Doukas chose him as the supervisor of his son Constantine (for whom this *Fürstenspiegel* was written). Around 1090 he became the archbishop of the then Bulgarian Ohrid; then he died there in 1107 or 1108.

His *Fürstenspiegel*, titled Παιδεία βασιλική (*Royal Education*) appeared around 1088. It is divided into two sections. The first part belongs to the genre of encomiastic-panegyric literature. Here, Theophylact praises the young Constantine, his student, and (just in the style of Julian) his father and grandfather. Especially Theophylact praises from the heart Maria of Alanien, Constantine's mother; the last chapter (of the first part) deals with the education and growth of the young addressee of his instruction. The second part exposes the real genuine *Fürstenspiegel*.

The admonishments of Theophylact begin with the claim of striving for virtue, and with the refusal of the seek after amusement. According to a portrayal of the disaster/misfortune of a tyrant, Theophylact summarises the nature/essence of the real and just ruler. First in 12<sup>th</sup> chapter, he speaks concerning the necessity of the adoration of God and the fear of God as the foundation of such a just dominion. With

the warning of surrounding oneself with true friends and of keeping away the flatterers, Theophylact fulfils the unavoidable duty of every *Fürstenspiegel* writer. The examples of just leadership, and the idea for the charge of the military follow. In the latter he does not neglect to encourage the emperor himself to do physical training. The emperor should not let clowns and actors in his palace; a similar admonition we also find in the *Fürstenspiegel* of Cecaumenus. The emperor should look mild, lenient even when he compels himself to punish someone.

The *Fürstenspiegel* ends with the warning that the young Constantine should obey his mother over everything else, through the performance of which he wins something to do with the Hereafter. So this *Fürstenspiegel* too ends with a religious motivation in the future, with Theophylact speaking about the fourth blessing, which springs from the preservation of his advice.

There are two circles of themes, which are emphasised in the *Fürstenspiegel* of Theophylact more strongly than in most other writings of this art. One is that, tyranny and the nature of tyrants is totally forcefully described. He submits them to the classical antique effective definition of tyranny, according to which the tyrant usurps the power with illegal means; however, concerning the tyrants' government nothing is expressed. But then he explains the reversal of the true and just ruler in masterly psychological comprehension: the tyrant is defined as a man, who spreads only fear and shock, because he himself is bound with fear and anxiety, for he also lacks the inner freedom. Therefore he does not like to trust anyone, not even his bodyguards. He is and stays embossed by insurmountable and almost inhuman mistrusts. From this mistrust, from this fear grow all the other oppression mechanisms. He does not have friends, he made everyone his enemy; more and more he turns into a thief and robber, who takes away everything from his subjects (for whose prosperity the ruler

should rule), the things they own or earn. As the last consequence, total lack of freedom prevails: 'If someone only whispered the word "freedom" then the sword would be red with the blood of his innards.'

It is this one of the most forceful portrayals of the inner nature of tyranny, which we find in Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel*. From this portrayal stems the description of three good and three bad government types, which forms the second circle of theme.

Wilhelm Blum finds it certain that Theophylact inserted this comparison to form a transition to his account of the tyrant as well as the real ruler. Then, he sensibly follows with a definition of different types of governments and then, writing a quite determined *Fürstenspiegel*, he goes on his explanations supposing that monarchy is the rightful form of government. Theophylact numbers the other forms, and monarchy, which the legitimate kingdom is called, is described as the 'basis and the fundament of people, as the basic meaning of the word explains it.' He refers to *basileus* which he advocates is from *basis* (base) and *laos* (people).

Therefore, we find in the writings of Theophylact, the common message of the *Fürstenspiegel*, but his messages go to much deeper corners.

Nicephorus Blemmydes was born in 1197 in Constantinople. During the Latin rule he migrated to Brusa (or, Prusa) and Nicaea. Here he studied philosophy and theology, then medicine too. He found admission to the patriarchal cloister in Nicaea and held lessons here. Among his most famous students are Georgios Akropolites, the famous history writer, and Theodoros II Laskaris, who later (1254-1258) became emperor. It is for him that he published his *Fürstenspiegel*. He became a monk in 1235, founded the monastery of Emathia in Ephesus in 1248 and died in 1272.

The *Fürstenspiegel* from the pen of Nicephorus Blemmydes bears the title Βασιλικός ἀνδριάς (literally, the *Imperial Statue*, i.e. Model of Emperors). Blemmydes used this title for the second time at the seventh chapter of his work.

In the second chapter Blemmydes uses the bold etymology according to which the emperor is the basis of his people. Because the emperor is the fundament of his people, he should cultivate self-control. If he knows to rule his own passions, then can he have order in his house; first this should be attained, then he can rule all the people as their emperor and ruler. He should suppress each of his violent tempers, he should preserve chastity. In particular, he should take care of himself against greed and avarice,

because the nasty illness of the avaricious person destroys the beauty of the soul, it destroys the nature of the rulership too, and therefore one should detest every zeal.

In the sixth chapter Blemmydes deals with the banishment of the flatterers and with the choice of the true friends, and in the seventh chapter he discusses the nature of the lie and calls upon the unconditional love of truth. In the eighth and ninth chapters there are exhortations on the building of military capabilities on land and on sea, and he speaks about the duties of the officials in the eleventh chapter. The religiously founded statements are all over the text, especially in chapter 12. Here, Blemmydes warns his son to obey the God of men. Only God gives success in politics in his compassion. Christian thought penetrates all the work of Nicephorus Blemmydes. From this religious setting it is to be understood that at the end of the treatise there will be a speech concerning bliss, and that also the closing is a metaphysical art. The work of Blemmydes is decorated with striking examples from history, especially classical antiquity. On the other hand, part of it is written in a style very difficult to understand.

Thomas Magister (or, Theodoulos, 1275-1347) wrote *On the Imperial Office* in which he maintained that in order to have peace, the emperor should be *philopolemos* (lover of war).

Emperor Alexius can be said to be a contemporary of Theophylact of Ohrid. He ruled in Byzantium between 1081 and 1118. Concerning the history of his reign we are excellently taught by the *Alexias*, his daughter Anna's history work. This emperor left behind (almost at the end of his life) a *Fürstenspiegel*, or a political will for his son John II Comnenus. The small work bears the title: *The Muses*. The emperor advises his son to subordinate himself before everything else to the dominion of God and to God's justice. He speaks of his own fear of God, with which he will be tested. In another place he says that everything is transitory and shortly describes how he thinks of life in the Hereafter, in immortality. Here he presents the well-known claim: "Know thyself" and the warning, "One thing, only one thing brings salvation: virtue, for this thou shall behave thyself." Likewise, the rejection of the lies is religiously rationalised. Alexius warns that the liars should be unconditionally punished. The claim that the ruler should have learned self-control belongs to the permanent stock of a hortatory writing of this art, together with the warning to surround oneself with good advisors. Alexius even demands that the ruler should surround himself with young advisors who often wish the better than do the older advisors. He should also convene an advisory board that should contain both the young and the old. He also speaks about military affairs and the possibilities of how to overcome the enemy. As a cliché, we have the warning of putting modesty and humility before pride and arrogance.

In the second verse of Alexius, his son's bodily and spiritual advantages are praised, about which we come across the same well-known advice.

In the verses where Alexius praises his son's bodily and spiritual advantages, genuine fatherly pride is shining out of them; it is most pleasant that the story of this pride has been right, therefore the *Muses* of Alexius is a deserving monument for the two Comnenus emperors.

Now to cite some examples of *Fürstenspiegel* from western Christendom: the *Via Regia* (*Royal Road*, written around 811-814) of Abbot Smaragdus of St Mihiel contains countless quotations from the Old and the New Testament. He conceives of the Power under the direction of a minister. That is, the king is made the vicar of the supreme kingdom of Christ. The *ministerium regale* (royal direction) is authorised by the anointment. To accomplish his ministry, the king ought to follow the royal view characterised by the exercise of the royal virtues, and at the first place, of justice.

An important example of the *Fürstenspiegel* from the ninth century Latin west must be mentioned again here: Dhuoda's *Libellus manualis* (*Handbook [for my son]*). It was written between 841 and 843. It is addressed to William, the son of Dhuoda and Bernard, Duke of Septimania, at the age of 16. By titling her book as such, she continues a classical tradition. As mentioned above, it is a small book that one can hold in one's hand for daily use. The classical predecessors were usually called *εγχειρίδιον*. Even St Augustine called one of his works as such.

In an age where almost all intellectual activity is in the monopoly of the church, Dhuoda's is a unique example of a layperson, and indeed that of a lay woman, to have written a booklet of spiritual admonitions to her son.<sup>22</sup> It includes the subject of the fight against the vices, the practice of the virtues, respect toward one's parents, one's king, one's superior and the priests, the prayers, and the sanctity of the marriage. However, Dhuoda does not limit herself to these accustomed subjects of the moral works of her age. She also wants that through this book her son William will

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<sup>22</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751-987* (London: Longman, 1983), p. 9.

remember her. It is a spiritual will of hers which she addresses to him who is and will remain far away from her.

Also from the ninth century is the *De Institutione Regia* (*Concerning the Royal Office*) of Bishop Jonas of Orléans. Here, it is binding as a duty of the king to direct the people of God in justice in order to attain peace and harmony.<sup>23</sup>

The same idea is witnessed in fourteenth century in Byzantium, as Thomas Magister contributes to the genre of the *Fürstenspiegel* his Mirror for Subjects (as opposed to Mirror for Princes). He explicitly addresses the subjects of a ruler, and instructs them in their proper behaviour towards their ruler in realisation of his God-granted goal. Apart from this, there is little similarity between the two treatises which does not let them juxtaposed in a separate genre.

After Jonas, comes Sedulius Scottus' *Liber de rectoribus christianis* (*Book concerning the Christian Leaders*) written between 855 and 859 which is presented to Lothar II (835-69). The definition of royal power is given over that of the minister again, and the king is described as the vicar of God. The duty of the king rests on the exercise of the royal virtues and the balance of eight columns which assure equilibrium of the kingdom and its prosperity.

Finally, with Hincmar of Rheims, during the reign of Charles the Bald, we have *De regis persona et regio ministerio* (*Concerning the person of the king and the royal office*, written between 868 and 871) where, as in Jonas, the kingdom is an administration limited by God.<sup>24</sup>

Having traced the tradition of the idea and the practice of *Fürstenspiegel*, it should be observed that the *Fürstenspiegel* have been only one way of the continuation of the

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<sup>23</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 2.



ideologies / aspirations of the periods in which they were composed. Surely, they have been idealistic; and indeed a description of actual political structures occupies a very small part in those few texts which do corporate such a section.<sup>25</sup>

One important function they achieve is that they reflect the dominant world view of their authors, not only in their own discussion of the subject, but also through selection of which sources to 'reflect' to the reader and with the interpretation of this selected material. That is, one can make a differentiate between cultures and societies by looking at the general world view depicted in their composed *Fürstenspiegel* and at the general composition of the selected authorities, aspirations of the author, and the issues addressed.

In this present study, it will be argued that *Fürstenspiegel* can be analysed in order to discern the differences between societies. The initial comment would be that, in the Carolingian West, they are interpreted as the principle means through which the intellectual exposition of the political structures were executed. On the other hand, in Byzantium, there were many other types of text, such as laws and military treatises, which taught princes how the state should best be run. Conversely, in the West, unwritten culture seems to dominate the methods employed to educate princes; for example, being a part of the retinue of a king was more important than being the student of an important scholar. This was true in the case of Charles the Bald, who scarcely profited from the few treatises (one of which written explicitly for him) he encountered concerning the ruling of his kingdom.

However, the search after the probable results of the royal education these princes had obtained would be the cause of another study.

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<sup>25</sup> One exception that has been presented is *De administrando imperio*. See Chapter 3.

In the present study therefore a comparative study of occidental and oriental *Fürstenspiegel* will be made, concentrating on particular examples from the Carolingian and the Byzantine Empires. In Chapter 1, I have presented a general overview of *Fürstenspiegel* as a genre and a survey of the relevant tradition of *Fürstenspiegel*-writing from the antiquity to the medieval West and the East. In Chapter 2 detailed case studies will be made of specific Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel*. Similarly, Chapter 3 will study examples from the ninth-century Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel*. In Chapter 4, by means of a conclusion, an attempt will be made to compare and contrast the texts of Chapters 3 and 4 in order to gain a broader understanding of the function of *Fürstenspiegel*, and suggest ways such texts ‘reflect’ the political and other concerns of the relevant societies.

## CHAPTER 2

### CAROLINGIAN *FÜRSTENSPIEGEL*

Three treatises have been chosen from the Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel* to be examined in this chapter. They are Jonas of Orléans' *De institutione regia*, and Hincmar of Rheims' *De regis persona et regio ministerio* and *De ordine palatii*. Before discussing the texts themselves, it is necessary to survey some events and documents in order to identify the sources of influence on the treatises and the general political ideology of the period when they were composed.

#### Ecclesiastical Views on the Government of the Christian Society

The most fundamental common discussion in the Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel* concerns the separation of the two Christian powers (one lay –the *regnum*, and the other clerical –the *sacerdotium*) and the relationship of one to the other. Whichever attitude these arguments possessed, they made extensive use of the following celebrated passage from a long letter of Pope Gelasius I (492-496)<sup>1</sup> to the Eastern Roman Emperor Anastasius I (r. 491-518) written in 494:

The world is chiefly governed by these two (or, as Robert L. Benson puts it, 'There are two things, august emperor, by which this world is chiefly ruled'):<sup>2</sup> the sacred authority of bishops (*auctoritas sacrata pontificum*) and the royal power (*regalis potestas*). Of these the burden of the priests is greater so far as they will answer to the Lord for the kings of men themselves at the divine judgement. For you know, most merciful son, that although you rule over the human race in dignity, you nevertheless devoutly bow the neck to those who are placed in charge of religious matters (*res divinae*) and seek from them the means of your salvation; and you

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<sup>1</sup> Dates are from Warren Hollister, *Medieval Europe: A Short History*, 7th edn (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), p. 371, for the pope, and George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. by Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), p. 580, for the emperor.

<sup>2</sup> This rendering of the first sentence and the second paragraph added below are from Robert L. Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine: Uses and Transformations', in *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident*, ed. by George Makdisi and others (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982), pp. 13-44 (p. 14).

understand that, according to the order of religion, in what concerns the receiving and correct administering of the heavenly sacraments you must be subject rather than in command (*subdi te debere cognoscis religionis ordine potius quam praeesse*).<sup>3</sup>

Benson's translation continues with:

Therefore you realise that in these things you depend on their judgement, and you do not aim to bend them to your will. For so far as the sphere of public order is concerned, the bishops themselves know that the imperial office has been conferred on you by divine disposition, and they obey your laws lest they seem to oppose your authoritative decision in worldly matters. If so, with what zeal, I ask you, is it fitting and proper to obey those who have been charged with the administration of the revered mysteries?

Pope Gelasius had been a relatively unimportant member of the clergy until he rose to a position of influence under his predecessors Simplicius I and Felix III.<sup>4</sup> As the first pope known to have been saluted as 'vicar of Christ', he exploited every opportunity to assert his conviction of the primacy and supremacy of the Roman see, especially against the court and see of Constantinople. He upheld the Chalcedonian teaching during the Acacian schism, and tested the patience of the emperor with his shower of letters to such a degree that the eastern bishops accused him of threatening the unity of the church.<sup>5</sup>

The Chalcedonian teaching refers to the fourth ecumenical council held in 451 to solve the dispute of the nature of Christ between archbishop Nestorius of Constantinople and archbishop Cyril of Alexandria which promulgated the formula in the end that 'Christ had two natures, without confusion and change but without division or separation, each nature concurring into one person'.<sup>6</sup> In the same council the see of Constantinople was decreed to have the same privileges as the see of Rome,

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<sup>3</sup> Gelasius I, *Epistola XII (Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII)*, ed. P. Jaffé, 2nd edn, rev. by W. Wattenbach, 2 vols., contrib. F. Kaltenbrunner, Veit, 1885-8, 632), ed. Thiel 1868, p. 350 quoted by Ian S. Robinson, 'Church and papacy', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-c. 1450*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 252-305 (p. 288). Latin text is supplied on p. 289, n. 271.

<sup>4</sup> Burns (ed.), *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 668. It also lists Gelasius' texts as *Epistulae*, ed. A. Thiel, *Epistulae Romanorum pontificum*, 287ff; *PL*, 59: 13ff.

although admitting the Roman precedence. This was vehemently protested by the Roman delegates who were the representatives of Pope Leo I (the Great, 440-461).

The Acacian schism, on the other hand, happened during the papacy of Felix III (483-492), who excommunicated the archbishop –or, the Patriarch, as he was now called– of Constantinople, Acacius (471-489) with the pretext that he influenced the then emperor Zeno (474-5, 476-91) to promulgate a letter called *Henoticon* (the Edict of Union, 482). The *Henoticon* denounced the doctrines of Chalcedon, but accepted the doctrines of the Creed of Nicaea (325) and the council of Constantinople (381).<sup>7</sup> After the pope excommunicated the patriarch in 484, the latter removed the pope's name from the diptychs and thus a schism had started between the two sees which lasted for more than thirty years.<sup>8</sup>

These two episodes represent the first attempts to establish the supremacy of Rome over the imperial authority which then resided in Constantinople, and also over the rival bishopric of the same city. When Gelasius pronounced his famous *sententia*, it was definitely with the intention of subordinating the emperor to the bishops in divine matters, and did not include those other actions of the emperor which did not pertain to his salvation under the authority of the bishops, which also Benson admits.<sup>9</sup>

According to Benson, various recurrences of Gelasius' letter from the ninth to the twelfth century made an injustice to the essence of the message conveyed by it.<sup>10</sup> In fact, he argues, because of several inconsistencies which Gelasius made, and because of the lack of important assertions regarding the emperor and his worldly power, the letter cannot be said to have consummated a genuine formula regarding the two

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<sup>5</sup> J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 47-49.

<sup>6</sup> Steven Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>8</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 13.

powers. Moreover, a supposed formulation can be attained only if another text of his is brought beside this letter. This is from a treatise on excommunication, the *Tomus de anathematis vinculo*, in which he again considers the relation between *regnum/imperium* and *sacerdotium*:<sup>11</sup>

Before the coming of Christ, certain men, though still engaged in carnal activities, were – in a prefiguring way (*prefiguraliter*) – kings and priests at the same time. Sacred history reports that holy Melchizedek was such. Among his own, the Devil imitated this, since he always strives in a spirit of tyranny to claim for himself those things which belong to divine worship, so that pagan emperors were called also supreme pontiffs (*maximi pontifices*). But when He came who was the true king and pontiff, thereafter the emperor did not assume the title of pontiff, nor did the pontiff claim the royal dignity. ... Mindful of human frailty, Christ regulated with marvellous direction what would serve the salvation of his people. Thus He separated the offices of the two powers (*officia potestatis utriusque discrevit*) in accordance with their own functions and separate dignities (*actionibus propriis dignitatibusque distinctis*), wanting his people to be saved by a healing humility, and not snatched away again by human pride, so that Christian emperors would need pontiffs for eternal life, and pontiffs would use imperial regulations for the conduct of temporal affairs. Thus spiritual activity would be set apart from carnal encroachments, and on that account he who serves God would not be involved in secular matters. And on the other hand, he who was involved in secular matters would not seem to preside over divine things, so that the humility of both orders (*utriusque ordinis*: emperors and pontiffs) would be preserved, with no one being exalted in both ways, and so that the profession of both orders would be especially fitted to the character of their functions.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, in the *Tomus* the idea of the separation of the pontifical *auctoritas* and royal *potestas* has become definite. Gelasius completed the secularisation of the office of the emperor in theory.

The Christian emperor was not seen as a secular ruler only, but he was also decorated with spiritual properties. Starting with Constantine the Great and

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<sup>11</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 16, and Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 35-36.

<sup>12</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 16, which Benson quoted from *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, 701; E. Schwartz ed., *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma*, Abh. Akad. München, 10 (Munich, 1934), 14.5-23. He also notes that scholars often cite the *Tomus* as *Tractatus IV*, the name assigned to it in the older edition by Andreas Thiel, *Epistulae Romanorum pontificum genuinae*, 1 (Braunsberg, 1868), pp. 557-70, and that in its surviving form the *Tomus* is a set of fragments put together in false sequence, but Gelasius' authorship cannot be doubted. He also cites Erich Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, 2 vols (Tübingen, 1930-33), 2.755f. The Latin of part of this text is also supplied by Robinson, 'Church and papacy', p. 289, n. 273.

continuing until Justinian I and beyond, the emperor as ‘king and priest (*rex et sacerdos*)’ had specific ecclesiastical and religious duties, such as the appointment of bishops and even deciding matters in dogma.<sup>13</sup> Major resistance to this situation would only occur when the emperor left the orthodox track and either supported heretics or protected the rights of non-Christians. Yet, beginning with Ambrose, archbishop of Milan (c. 340-397), there had steadily been growing a doctrine from the ecclesiastical authorities towards the final disavowal of the *rex et sacerdos* idea. Still, in Gelasius’ case, the reason for resistance lay in the Acacian schism, and he did not want to excommunicate the emperor, unlike Ambrose who treated Theodosius I (the Great, 379-95) much more harshly, imposing penance on him in 390. Gelasius was not politically strong enough to do the same thing.

Benson also traces Gelasius’ character from a letter which Gelasius must have come across while serving Felix III in the papal chancery as a deacon:

The emperor ... is the son, not the ruler, of the Church. It is fitting for him to learn, not to teach, what pertains to religion. He has the prerogatives of his power, which he received from above for the administration of public affairs; and grateful for his benefits, he should usurp nothing against the disposition of the celestial order. For God wanted those things which the Church must administer to pertain to priests, not to the secular powers. If the secular powers are faithful (Christians), God wanted them to be subject to his Church and to its priests. For (the emperor) should not claim another’s right, nor an office which has been assigned to another. ... The Lord ... wanted priests to be installed and tried and –when they return from error– readmitted by bishops and priests, not by public laws, not by the secular powers. Christian emperors must subject the execution of judicial proceedings to ecclesiastical leaders, not impose it upon them.<sup>14</sup>

It is quite understandable that many (cleric-)scholars in the succeeding centuries thought this letter to have been written by Gelasian, because it pushed the idea of pontifical authority to the extreme. However, it stands in clear opposition to Gelasius’ general tone which is not destructive but rather conciliatory in receiving the

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<sup>13</sup> Benson, ‘The Gelasian Doctrine’, p. 17.

problem of the relations between the emperor and the bishops. In a solution to his problem, Gelasius distinguishes 'sharply between the Church's autonomous realm and the emperor's, and his statements about the emperor's subjection to the Church refer exclusively to the ecclesiastical sphere, "that which pertains to religion"'.<sup>15</sup>

All in all, Benson demonstrates that the Gelasian doctrine should not be understood as the true source of the idea of the pontifical sovereignty over the whole Christian church including the person and the office of the emperor, and Robert A. Markus supports him by suggesting the main idea of the argument was a part of the ecclesiastical intellectual campaign to force the kings/emperors to abjure the *rex et sacerdos* idea and to renounce the sacral character of their office.<sup>16</sup> However, Walter Ullmann argues that it had already been interpreted as such<sup>17</sup> and that Gelasius

was deliberately employing terminology from Roman constitutional law to convey that episcopal *auctoritas* was so much higher than mere royal *potestas* that it directed the imperial power, which had a purely auxiliary function.<sup>18</sup>

Benson would also continue to give examples of this interpretation which occurred in the ninth century in western Francia. However, before tracing the procession of this idea then, it is necessary to examine the Benedictine reform movement in order to gain a further view of the influences which shaped Jonas' and Hincmar's ideologies.

On accession to the throne in 814, the Carolingian king and emperor Louis the Pious (r. 814-840) purged Charlemagne's court of most of the former counsellors and

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<sup>14</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 19, cites from *Regesta pontificum*, (Schwartz, ed., *Publizistische Sammlungen*, 35.30-36.4), p. 611. Benson adds that though issued under Felix's name this letter circulated in manuscripts as a Gelasian letter.

<sup>15</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Robert A. Markus, 'The Latin Fathers', in Burns (ed.) *Medieval Political Thought*, pp. 92-122 (p. 102).

<sup>17</sup> Walter Ullmann, *A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), pp. 40-44.

<sup>18</sup> Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 36 cites from Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 20-28, and Ullmann,



made changes in most of the other personnel. One of the new counsellors was the monk Benedict (d. 821) who was one of Louis' trustworthy men in his service while he was king of Aquitaine. Born Wittiza, he was the offspring of an immigrant Visigothic family<sup>19</sup> who in 774 entered the monastic life as a young man and took as his monastic name, Benedict, after St Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-c. 550). At this time, St Benedict's *Regula* had become the most treasured and devout of the monastic rules, followed in some parts of western Europe. However, it would be incorrect to state that it was *the* standard rule, or the most wide-spread one. Upon his studying the matter, Wittiza-Benedict preferred this *Regula* over the others, and adopted it as the rule of the monastery he had founded in his family estate.<sup>20</sup>

Until Charlemagne's first attempts in 813 to reform the monastic life, the monasteries of Francia were diverse due to different types of monasticism introduced during the Gallo-Roman, and Merovingian periods,<sup>21</sup> and often 'superficially spiritual';<sup>22</sup> Charlemagne thought that the best method to change this situation was to impose the *Regula sancti Benedicti* on all of them. In order to achieve this goal, he even requested that the abbot of Monte Cassino should send him a copy of the *Regula*, and duly received it. At this time, Wittiza-Benedict had been in full reformatory activity throughout the monasteries of Aquitaine and Septimania. He had by then reformed more than twenty monasteries, including Goudagnes, Casa Nova, Gellone,

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*Gelasius I (492-496): Das Papsttum an der Wende der Spätantike zum Mittelalter*, Pápste und Papsttum, 18 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981), pp. 198-212.

<sup>19</sup> Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family who Forged Europe*, trans. by Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 288, and Mayke de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 622-53 (p. 630).

<sup>20</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 288.

<sup>21</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751-987* (London: Longman, 1983), p. 109.

<sup>22</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 288.

Mar, Cormery, Fleury, Ile Barbe at Lyons and Aniane itself,<sup>23</sup> with the guardianship of Louis, then king of Aquitaine, Alcuin (lately made the abbot of St Martin of Tours), and Theodulf, bishop of Orléans.

From the monastery Louis founded for him at Inden, very near to Aachen, Benedict directed a series of ecclesiastical councils in 816 and 817 with the purpose of reforming the monastic life throughout the Frankish realm. In fact, Louis the Pious' policy regarding the monastic reformation and a spiritual rejuvenation of Francia was a perfect continuation of the last years of the reign of Charlemagne. Louis endorsed this first stage fully, and entrusted the programme to Benedict's initiative. He even permitted Benedict to impose his rule on whichever monastery he saw needing a moral regeneration.<sup>24</sup> During these synods of 816 and 817 the *Capitulare monasticum* was promulgated, which was prepared by Benedict, as a text of 83 articles regulating various monastic customs in accordance with the *Regula sancti Benedicti*.<sup>25</sup> The monks, on the one hand, were required to live according to this *Regula* which was imposed as the minimum precept in these monasteries. On the other hand, for the cathedral clergy in general, *Regula canonicorum* of Chrodegang, bishop of Metz (742-766), was put into effect.<sup>26</sup> The rules of the female communities were supervised with a different set of special measures.<sup>27</sup>

In many instants, in the second synod of Aachen (818/819) many monasteries could not be turned into Benedictine institutions and some even converted to canonical life, which preserved the right of property as opposed to its prohibition in

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<sup>23</sup> McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 108, citing Ardo, *Vita Sancti Benedicti*, c. 58. She recommends Suzanne Dulcy *La règle de St Benoît d'Aniane et la réforme monastique à l'époque carolingienne* (Nîmes: A. Languier, 1935), and J. Semmler 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils im Jahre 816', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 74 (1963), 15-82.

<sup>24</sup> Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Europe, 300-1000* (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1991), p. 295. Warren Hollister, *Medieval Europe*, p. 98.

<sup>25</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 288.

<sup>26</sup> See McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 112-113.

<sup>27</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 146.

monasteries.<sup>28</sup> Yet, the application of the *Regula sancti Benedicti* gained an irreversible position in the identity of monastic foundations. In the following years, *missi* were sent out to check the procedures.<sup>29</sup>

Although with the death of Louis the Pious in 840 *Capitulare monasticum* lost its status as an imperial law, it left very significant traces on the subsequent reform attempts throughout Francia.<sup>30</sup> Hence it can be said that Benedict of Aniane was instrumental in the unification of a church in an undivided Christian empire. Regardless of the question whether the lay or the ecclesiastical authorities had been more effective in the beginning of the monastic reformation, it was closely followed by a series of synods in which more general aspects of Christian life were discussed with new attempts at defining the relation between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*.

The Synod of Paris (*Concilium Parisiense*, 829) is the third source of doctrines common to all three of Jonas' and Hincmar's treatises. It is not a source on its own, but rather a culmination of the ecclesiastical ideas on the division of the powers that rule the world and their relation between each other.

In 829, the emperors Louis and Lothar (king 814, co-emperor 817, d. 855) simultaneously called four councils at Mayence, Paris, Lyons and Toulouse. The reason for calling these synods, like those which had been convening since 813, at Aachen in 818/19, and at Paris again in 825, was to discuss the regeneration of the Frankish spirituality and also in Paris (825) a repudiation of the iconoclastic doctrines extending from the Byzantine East. As seen above, whereas a secular ruler like Louis the Pious was endeavouring to reform the religious foundations of his realm with the aim of securing a unified Christian empire, the ecclesiastical authorities were at the

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<sup>28</sup> de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', p. 633.

same time developing doctrines concerning their relations with the lay authorities. Their chief source of inspiration was particularly Pope Gelasius' letter to Emperor Anastasius. Yet, as Robert Benson and Joseph Canning argue, by the time the lay authorities were establishing uniformity in a unified Christian empire, the ecclesiastical authorities had started exploiting the power dualism in Gelasius' letter in a different way.<sup>31</sup>

The *acta* of the council of Paris have survived both on their own and as part of Jonas' *De institutione regia*. Jonas resorted to Gelasius' letter in order to define the bishops' role in the reform programme and to assert the injustice done as the monarchy infringed upon clerical prerogatives. Besides, the bishops imitated the prophets of the Old Testament –not for the first time, though– and wanted to remind the emperor Louis of his duties as ruler. Jonas clearly saw the status of the bishops superior to that of the king. He took *auctoritas* to be much stronger than *potestas*.<sup>32</sup> Unlike Pope Gelasius in 494, at this time the bishops enjoyed more political power even in the presence of the king. For example, they forced him to do penance in 822 at the Council of Attigny for his wrongful conduct in temporal affairs. Thus, this seemed to them an indication of their elevated position and at least that they could claim a ruler to be a tyrant and hence punish him accordingly.

This time, Jonas had more license to elaborate on the idea of sacerdotal superiority and wrote:

Principally therefore we know that the body of the whole holy church of God is divided into two distinguished persons, namely the priestly and the royal, as we accept has been passed on by the holy fathers. Concerning this matter Gelasius, the venerable bishop of the Roman see, writes thus to the emperor Anastasius, 'There are indeed,' he says, 'two august empresses by which this world is principally ruled: the consecrated authority of bishops and the royal power. Of

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<sup>29</sup> de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', p. 633.

<sup>30</sup> McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 279.

<sup>31</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 22, and Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 50.

<sup>32</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 151.

these that of the priesthood is a greater burden, in so far as they must also render account before God for the very kings of men.'<sup>33</sup>

A better view of the difference between the two documents will be obtained if we compare them side by side:

Gelasius' original:

Duo quippe sunt, imperator auguste, quibus principaliter hic mundus regitur: auctoritas sacra [sacrata] pontificum et regalis potestas. In quibus tanto gravius est pondus sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus [hominum] Domino in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem.<sup>34</sup>

Jonas' rendition:

Principaliter itaque totius sanctae dei ecclesiae corpus in duas eximias personas, ... divisum esse novimus. ... 'Duae sunt quippe', inquit, 'imperatrices augustae, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacrata pontificum et regalis potestas, in quibus tanto gravius pondus est sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus hominum in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem'<sup>35</sup>

Clearly, there is a misrepresentation of the original letter of Gelasius. According to Jonas, it is not this world (*hic mundus*) that is ruled by two powers but the body of the holy church (*corpus sanctae ecclesiae*), although he does not hide the fact that Gelasius does not say so.<sup>36</sup> The church has been extended to envelop the concept of the world. The quality of the *ecclesia* encompassed the essence of secular rulership. The Church is no longer in the empire, but the empire is in the Church. Before continuing with the implication of this idea both for the bishops and the king in the

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<sup>33</sup> Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 50. He also supplies the Latin of the text (*MGH, Conc.*, II, 2:1.3, p. 610), pp. 197-98, n. 16 which is also below.

<sup>34</sup> Gelasius I, *Epistola XII* partially quoted by Robinson, 'Church and papacy', p. 289, n. 271. The omitted words were supplied from Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 194, n. 121. Brackets are by Robinson.

<sup>35</sup> From the Council of Paris (829) in Robinson, 'Church and Papacy', p. 298, n. 335, and Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, pp. 197-98, n. 16, quoted from *MGH, Conc.*, II, 2:1.3, p.610. There are two secondary sources on *De institutione regia*, Jean Reviron, *Les idées politico-religieuses d'un évêque du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jonas d'Orléans et son 'De institutione regia': Étude et Text Critique*, L'Église et l'État au Moyen Age, 1 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1930), and *Jonas d'Orléans: Le Métier de Roi (De institutione regia)*, ed. by Alain Dubreucq, Sources Chrétiennes, 407 (Paris: Les éditions du CERF, 1995). Reviron, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 135, repeats Gelasius' formula *verbatim*, whereas Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 176, makes the change in its beginning, but both mentions that it is in *ecclesia* that two important persons take place.

<sup>36</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 176, l. 5-10.

830s, it should be noted here that it stemmed from the writings of Gregory I and Isidore of Seville.<sup>37</sup>

St Gregory I (the Great, 590-604) lived during a period of cohesion of Germanic settlements in the Roman Empire, and his relations with the court in Constantinople were defined in the post-Justinian sense.<sup>38</sup> That is, there was a more extensive administration run by the central government through the Exarchate of Ravenna, and with the decline of old aristocracy, most provincial government came to be conducted by ecclesiastical authorities. Hence, there was increased surveillance of the court over ecclesiastical matters at a much greater rate than before.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, it is not a surprise that Pope Gregory assumed his civil status as that of the subject of the emperor. However, his political ideas do not readily reflect an idea of subservience to the emperor in ecclesiastical or secular matters. Along with the Byzantine perception of the empire in which the emperor is the supreme arbiter of all human affairs, be it ecclesiastical or secular, Gregory also inherited two distinct sources of thought for his interpretation of the governance of the world: the patristic tradition, especially works of St Augustine of Hippo (354-430), and the monastic tradition together with his admiration for St Benedict of Nursia.

It has to be emphasised here that Augustine's vast theological inheritance itself bears the stamp of gradual changes in its author's ideas and, as with almost every other Father of the Church, he never left a treatise that can be described as a specific work of political thought. Even his major works were not perceived in the context he meant them to be.<sup>40</sup> So, to briefly trace Augustine's influence in Gregory's world-

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<sup>37</sup> Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 50.

<sup>38</sup> Kelly, *Dictionary of Popes*, pp. 65-67.

<sup>39</sup> Robinson, 'Church and Papacy', pp. 116-7, and Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, pp. 38-39, and Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 83-96.

<sup>40</sup> See, Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, pp. 40-43.

view: Gregory came to interpret Augustine's notion of the *Two Cities* as the separation of Christian society into the contemplative and the active/secular communities. Whereas Augustine had separated the essentially Christian aspects of the society from the official/secular institutions. Thus, divesting the empire of its idealistic religious significance, Gregory did not have such a need, because the political institutions of his time had already been divested of their religious significance following the invasion of Italy and the rest of the western empire by Germanic peoples.<sup>41</sup> For him, Rome's secular institutions and their role in the Church had already been mutilated, and the end was nigh. He saw the community in which he lived as a religious community which absorbed earthly powers into it. The bishops, or the clergy in general, came to be regarded as the main authority which forms the centre of the community. Thus, the *rectores*, as he called them, started to play a more general role in the governing of the society. In his *Regula pastoralis* (*Manual for the bishops*) he described the conduct and the aims of the *rectores*. The ideal *rector* is someone *subject* to exercise of power, it is essentially a mission of service, and humility is its indispensable condition.<sup>42</sup> Parallel to the ideas he derived from St Benedict's *Regula*, Gregory stresses that immense care should be devoted to the exercise of power, and that lust for power and pride ought to be abandoned.<sup>43</sup> It is mainly due to Gregory's such stress that, during the Carolingian period, the role of the monarch is perceived as a Christian individual with significant duties, and as such he is subject to a definition of this role by the clergy, who, in their turn, invested the king's primary duties to achieve justice and peace with Christian content,<sup>44</sup> or, as Canning later summarises:

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<sup>41</sup> Robinson, 'Church and Papacy', pp. 117-9.

<sup>42</sup> Robinson, 'Church and Papacy', p. 119.

<sup>43</sup> Robinson, 'Church and Papacy', p. 120.

<sup>44</sup> Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 42.

In a fundamental sense the king's ministry was that of any Christian, but of one who was also the king: of him, therefore, more was expected. And who but the clergy were to tell this exalted Christian what conduct was required of him?<sup>45</sup>

Further elaboration in the idea of the ministry of the king was made by Isidore of Seville (c. 560-d. 636), but not with original ideas on the issue, rather through popularity of his works and their longevity. Pointing to the etymological relation between *recte* (rightly) and *rex* (king), he observed, 'You will be a king if you act rightly, if you do not, you will not be'.<sup>46</sup> And with this comes the celebrated formula:

Reges a regendo vocati ... Non autem regit, qui non corrigit. Recte igitur faciendo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur. Unde et apud veteres tale erat proverbium: 'Rex eris, si recte facias: si non facias, non eris.' (They are called kings from ruling ... he who does not correct, does not rule. Therefore, the name of the king will be held by faring rightly, it will be lost by sinning. That's why the ancients had such a proverb: 'You will be a king, if you do rightly: if you do not, you will not be.')

His understanding of the secular power within the Church can be seen in:

Secular princes often occupy the summit of power in the Church in order to protect ecclesiastical discipline by their power. These powers would not be necessary in the Church except for the fact that fear of discipline can achieve what the priest cannot accomplish through the word of teaching. The celestial kingdom often profits from the terrestrial kingdom, so that those who, being within the Church, attack faith and discipline, will be broken by the rigour of the princes. ... Let the secular princes know that they must give account to God for the Church which Christ consigns to their protection. For, whether ecclesiastical peace and discipline are strengthened by faithful princes, or are destroyed [by evil ones], He who has entrusted His Church to their power will ask them to render account [for their actions].<sup>48</sup>

Isidore maintains that the ministry of government was a gift from God with the aim that the ruler should advance the well-being of his subjects. The progress in ecclesiastical discipline and peace is of top priority. The prince ought to set an

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<sup>45</sup> Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 53.

<sup>46</sup> Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 20.

<sup>47</sup> P. D. King, 'The Barbarian Kingdoms,' in Burns (ed.) *Medieval Political Thought*, pp. 123-153 (p. 143). Latin text is supplied in n. 76. Jonas also uses the saying as: 'Rex a recte agendo vocatur,' Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 184. Translation is mine. .

<sup>48</sup> Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 9, 2 vols (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1966), II, p. 848 quotes from *Sententiae*, III, 51, (*PL*, 83, cols. 723-24).



example, both in his living and in his character. Besides justice, Isidore adds clemency, humility, and patience to the qualities of the king.

Thus, to return to the Carolingian bishops and their king, it can be inferred that Louis the Pious accepted this view and recognised the increasing role of the clergy in determining political ideas. The decrees of the Paris Synod contained a number of chapters concerning the role and position of kings. Hence, the bishops extended the term of *auctoritas* which they initially had seen in Gelasius as opposed to *potestas*, and re-defined the role of the secular ruler within Christian society to that of a ministry.<sup>49</sup> Jonas declared both at the synod and in his *De institutione regia* that

the royal ministry is specifically to govern the people of God and to rule with equity and justice, and to strive that they may have peace and harmony.<sup>50</sup>

The king continues to possess his *potestas* as long as he is worthy of his *ministerium*. For, even the synod admits 'In the church no one appears superior to the bishop, and in the world no one loftier than the Christian emperor,' citing St Fulgentius of Ruspe (c.467-533).<sup>51</sup>

A fourth authority should also be added next to Gelasius, Isidore, and Fulgentius: namely, Pseudo-Cyprian.<sup>52</sup> He is the alleged author of *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* (*On the Twelve Abuses of the World*), written around 630-650. The ninth chapter of this treatise was inserted into Canon II of the *Concilium Parisiense* and into the third chapter of *De institutione regia*<sup>53</sup> and into the second chapter of *De regis persona et regio ministerio*. The passage that was espoused was related with the definition of the king, whereas the whole work is primarily concerned with morals in the whole

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<sup>49</sup> Robinson, 'Church and Papacy', p. 298.

<sup>50</sup> Canning, *Medieval Political Thought*, p. 52.

<sup>51</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 39, n. 46 quotes from *De veritate praedestinationis et gratiae Dei*, 2.38 from PL 65, col. 647, but Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 177, cites it at 2.39. Hans H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonner historische Forschungen, 32 (Bonn: Röhrscheid Verlag, 1968), p. 206, n. 342 supplies the Council of Paris reference: *MGH Conc. II* . 610f, which proves Jonas' exact quotation.

society. There are twelve abuses in the world; that is, the wise man without works, the old man without religion, the youth without obedience, the rich man without almsgiving, the woman without modesty, the nobleman without virtue, the Christian who is quarrelsome, the poor man who is proud, the king who is unjust, the bishop who neglects his duties, the populace without discipline, the nation without law. It is described as a very 'Irish' tract written in the rhetorical type Ireland is said to have received from West Gaul. It may have valuable original thoughts and information on Irish social thought, but it is, nevertheless, an abstract and traditional-sounding treatise like all 'other medieval works on morals'.<sup>54</sup>

With these regards, a new and essential notion is formed in Carolingian political thought, that is, that the *ecclesia* is the fundamental basis of society and government, within which the clerical and lay authorities rule jointly. This was also in conformity with the Frankish ease with placing themselves in a Christ-centred world where the Roman notion of the legally-defined abstract State with its constitutional citizens had long perished.<sup>55</sup>

So, having examined the recent developments in political thought of the Carolingian clergy, it is possible to assess the value and contextual validity of Jonas and Hincmar in their respective treatises. For, they argue that the Christian king has evolved from *rex et sacerdos* to a more subservient status, which is eventually more beneficent and more salutary for him, and the rest of the society, but also a strict condition for his salvation. Ideally, he will be so busy with the temporal matters that, when he turns to regard religious matters, he will find them well cared for by the

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<sup>52</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos*, p. 210.

<sup>53</sup> See p. 54 for the translation of the ninth chapter.

<sup>54</sup> James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical: An Introduction and Guide*, 2nd edn (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1966; repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), pp. 281-82.

<sup>55</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', pp. 22-23.

clergy, who is also ready to advise and even dictate the king on matters outside the divine things.

### **Jonas of Orléans' *De institutione regia***

As indicated in its title, Jonas of Orléans is rightfully the author of the work: *Ionae Episcopi Aurelianensis ad Pippinum Regem Ludovici Pii Augusti Filium Admonitio et Opusculum de Munere Regio*: Admonition and a Small Work on the Royal Office<sup>56</sup> of Jonas, Bishop of Orléans to the King Pippin, the Son of the Emperor Louis the Pious. The date of the work is uncertain, but it has been argued that it must have been written in 831.<sup>57</sup>

The first mention of Jonas is probably in a poem by Alcuin which is dated c. 778-780 by Peter Godman,<sup>58</sup> and Dubreucq deduces that Jonas must have been born before 780, probably around 760. As Alcuin's poem indicates, Jonas must have stayed in the court of Charlemagne in the 780s. He was also part of the court of Louis the Pious when the latter was king of Aquitaine (781-814); and when Louis became emperor (in 813),<sup>59</sup> Jonas remained in Aquitaine as advisor or tutor to Louis' son Pippin (c. 797-838). Because of the intrigues against him, Jonas relates, in *Admonitio* to the *De institutione regia*,<sup>60</sup> he had to escape from the court of King Pippin. This was also attested by Astronomus in his *Vita Hludowici*,<sup>61</sup> who states that when Pippin was crowned in 817, he immediately drove away the counsellors appointed for his use by his father. Jonas must have fled from Pippin's court in the same year, because it is

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<sup>56</sup> **munus, muneris**, *n* a service, office, function, duty. Chambers Murray, *Latin-English Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1933). Niermeyer does not offer an obscure medieval meaning.

<sup>57</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, pp. 45-49.

<sup>58</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 9 cites Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 44-45.

<sup>59</sup> That is, when Charlemagne associated him to the office.

<sup>60</sup> *Adm.* l. 20-25 (at **151** of Dubreucq's translation, see Appendix).

certain that he was back in Orléans as the bishop of the city, receiving the emperor who stopped there during the summer of 818, according to Ermoldus Nigellus.<sup>62</sup>

Having stayed at the court of Charlemagne in the 780s, Jonas had witnessed the consolidation of the Carolingian monarchy and the rapid expansion of the kingdom through the conquests. The climax of this series of events was reached at the imperial coronation of Charlemagne on 25 December, 800. Hence, the first half of Jonas' life passed through a political era characterized more or less by stability and imperial power. However, the next decades were not as tranquil. According to the *Divisio Regnorum* of 806, Charlemagne divided the kingdom into three parts without expressing the future bearer of the imperial title. However, the whole kingdom passed to Louis the Pious' hands undivided, because Charlemagne's other sons, Pippin and Charles, predeceased their father. Only in Italy, Pippin's son Bernard was ruling as King of Italy/of the Lombards when Louis ascended to the Frankish throne. In 817, Louis drew up his own partition in the *Ordinatio Imperii*, and divided the realm between his sons: Lothar would take Italy and the imperial title, Louis would take Bavaria, and Pippin would take Aquitaine. It is this Pippin to whom the work is addressed.

In the *Admonitio*, Jonas expresses his aim to divert Pippin from his hostile attitude towards his father Louis (the Pious) so as to avoid harm to the empire. There is a remarkable allusion to the events of 830,<sup>63</sup> when the sons of the emperor had revolted against their father and later made reconciliation. This is the result of the worries of

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<sup>61</sup> *Thegan: Die Taten Kaiser Ludwigs – Astronomus: Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs*, ed. by Ernst Tremp, MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, 64 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1995), pp. 532-40.

<sup>62</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 13, citing Faral Edmond (ed.), *Ermold le Noir, Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin* (Paris: [n.pub.], 1932), p. 114. I cited it at Faral Edmond (ed.), *Ermoldus Nigellus: Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1964), p. 118, l. 1534-35: *Obvius ecce venis, praesul sanctissime Jona, // Reddere digna paras debitor atque volens* (Here you come to meet, o most holy Jonas, // Obligated and willing, you prepare worthy things to give, my translation.)

Lothar, the eldest son of Louis. The emperor married a Judith in 819 after his first wife, Lothar's mother, Ermengard died in 817. Judith, beautiful daughter of Count Welf and not the least clever of women, was very influential on the emperor and persuaded him to distribute offices and privileges on her relations. Even in 827, her sister Emma married Louis' and Ermengard's last son, Louis of Bavaria (Thus the emperor became the brother-in-law of his third son). In 830, Lothar was 28 years old and was very experienced in the affairs of his kingdom in Italy, whither his father had sent him in 822, because he had started stepping in imperial management. He started to become suspicious of the designs of Judith, who had at this time just given birth to Charles (the Bald, in future), and feared the loss of his possessions that were ascertained by the *Ordinatio Imperii*. He was supported in this by powerful magnates of the realm, such as Counts Matfrid of Orléans and Hugh of Tours (also Lothar's father-in-law) and from the clerics, Abbot Hilduin of St-Denis and arch-chaplain to the emperor, Wala, a cousin of Charlemagne, advisor to Lothar, and Jonas, bishop of Orléans. In 827, the two counts were sent to aid Bernard of Septimania, count of Barcelona, and they reached there after the Arabs had withdrawn with scarcely any loss to the march. In the assembly held next year, the emperor took their office back. In 829, Charles (the Bald) was given lands of Alemannia on his seventh birthday, following a Frankish custom. In the same year Wala was banished to Corbie and Bernard was made the chamberlain. Even the infant Charles was entrusted to him. Now the elder sons became ripe for revolt.<sup>64</sup>

The sons' revolt is made known in the Annals of St Bertin for the year 830 as:

Some of the magnates, knowing the people's critical attitude, summoned them to a meeting so as to wean them away from the loyalty they had sworn to the Lord Emperor. And so the whole people, who ought to have been marching to Brittany, met up at Paris, and went on to force

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<sup>64</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans, Adm.*, l. 151-57, look at **161** in the Appendix.

Lothar to come from Italy and Pippin from Aquitaine to attack their father: the plan was to depose him, to destroy their stepmother... When the plot was denounced to the Lord Emperor, he immediately travelled to meet with them at Compiègne. There Pippin, who had with him a large proportion of the people, with Lothar's consent took away from the Emperor his royal power, and also his wife whom they veiled and sent to the convent of St Radegund at Poitiers.<sup>65</sup>

*Ordinatio Imperii* was thus put into effect. The sources do not say how, but by October of 830, Louis had been released from custody and had regained his authority. Roger Collins suggests that the two younger sons soon found Lothar's leadership somewhat adversary.<sup>66</sup>

In 829, the emperors Louis and Lothar simultaneously called four councils at Mayence, Paris, Lyon and Toulouse,<sup>67</sup> though only the *acta* of the council of Paris have survived. These *acta*, having been drafted by Jonas,<sup>68</sup> have considerable importance because they express the position of the Frankish episcopacy concerning the problem of the relations between the powers that direct society. Jonas' presence at the council is attested by his signature to an *actum* to which some bishops present at the council signed at the demand of Inchad, bishop of Paris. Jonas' signature is found at the sixth position. The *acta* of Paris precede the *De institutione regia* which reproduces them in general exactly, but sometimes only summarising them.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, only three passages of the *De institutione regia* and its chapter 17 are really independent from the *acta* of Paris.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, pp. 149-152.

<sup>65</sup> Janet L. Nelson, *Ninth-Century Histories: Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 21-22.

<sup>66</sup> Collins, *Early Medieval Europe*, p. 298.

<sup>67</sup> Also see the previous section regarding the influence of the Synod of Paris (829) on Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel*, in general, and on Jonas' treatise, in particular.

<sup>68</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 21, and Riché, *The Carolingians*, pp. 150-51.

<sup>69</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 37.

<sup>70</sup> The copying is to such an extent that at the beginning of Chapter 16 (which is the last of the common chapters) Jonas says (Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 280) 'as we have recently prayed for that to your father,' whereas he says in the chapter 9 of the Book III of the Council of Paris (829) 'as we have for a long time prayed for that to you'. Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 37.

When the structure of the treatise is taken into consideration, it is certainly a composite work containing two treatises, a rather long admonition with a piece of verse added and the following seventeen chapters.

The whole sequence of the chapters is divided into three parts. Chapters 1 and 2 define the relations between the royal power and the power of the priest, which belong to the structure of the *Ecclesia catholica*, that is, the body of Christ. Two documents support this doctrine: the aforementioned passage from a letter of Pope Gelasius to the Emperor Anastasius, modified by Jonas,<sup>71</sup> and a citation from Fulgentius<sup>72</sup> according to which the bishop is in possession of power in the Church, while the emperor rules the world. The sense of the second citation is, like the first, drawn by Jonas to the side of the authority of the bishops, while the cited authors question the authority of the pope only. Chapter 2 underlines that the bishops have *potestas* and *auctoritas* since they have inherited the power of the keys from the apostles. The authority invoked here is the Gospels of Matthew and John.<sup>73</sup>

The bishops exert a mission with the authority of God: they have certain obligations regarding their conduct and the teaching which they give to the faithful. They should look after the salvation of the kings, who, in exchange, should defend the Church, with arms when necessary.

Chapters 3 to 8 describe the charge of the king and the obligations which are attached to it. The treatise bases its argument on some citations from Deuteronomy,

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<sup>71</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 176, l. 11-16. See p. 30 above for a comparison of Gelasius' letter and Jonas' quotation of it.

<sup>72</sup> Chapter 1, l. 17-19.

<sup>73</sup> Matthew 16. 19: 'I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven'.  
Matthew 18. 18: 'Truly, I tell you, whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven'.  
John 20. 22-23: When he had said this, he breathed on them and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained.' For all references to the Holy Scriptures, *Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version with Apocrypha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

on Isidore of Seville and on Pseudo-Cyprian.<sup>74</sup> The three ideas that are emphasised here are justice (*iustitia*), humility (*humilitas*), and pity (*miserericordia*). The king should defend the Church, which was entrusted to him by God, as well as the poor, and he will be accountable for this task on the day of judgement. He should delegate his powers to just counsellors<sup>75</sup> and show to his audience the cause of the poor. He reigns in view of the salvation of the people of God, whose protection he provides. Piety, justice and pity strengthen the kingdom and assure its stability. Power was not conferred upon the king through inheritance, but by God.<sup>76</sup> As a passage taken from Isidore's *Sententiae* states, bad kings rule only with permission of God, and they are instituted because of the sins of the people.<sup>77</sup> While the power of the king is bestowed upon him by God, his subjects should obey him. Jonas here cites the well-known verses from St Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*.<sup>78</sup>

Chapters 9 to 16 comprise the moral section of Jonas' treatise. That is why the greater part of the chapters are rooted in Jonas' 'mirror for the subjects', *De institutione laicali*. *Caritas* (that is to say, common love meaning of charity) and *bona voluntas* (good will) are the fundamentals of Christian morality. Those who perform functions in the palace should be the first people to conform to it, instead of tearing themselves in between. There is an allusion here to the political climate of the palace from the year 827 on.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Jonas's quotation from the last is also found in Hans Hubert Anton, 'Pseudo-Cyprian: *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* und sein Einfluß auf den Kontinent, insbesondere auf die karolingischen Fürstenspiegel,' in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. by Heinz Löwe, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), II, 568-617. I provided a translation of it in Hincmar's *Fürstenspiegel* below.

<sup>75</sup> Deuteronomy 16.18-19: You shall appoint judges and officials throughout your tribes, in all your towns that the Lord your God is giving you, and they shall render just decisions for the people. You must not distort justice; you must not show partiality; and you must not accept bribes, for a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise and subverts the cause of those who are in the right.

<sup>76</sup> Chapters 6, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Isidore, *Sententiae*, III, 48, 11 quoted in Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 196, l. 153-60.

<sup>78</sup> Romans 13. 2: Therefore whoever resists authority resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgement.

<sup>79</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 52. Chapter 9, l. 34-38.



Also, God's commands should be observed. Those who overstep them attract to themselves the divine punishment, as many passages of the Old Testament warn. Each person should respect the divine law in his order on pain of damnation. The practice of good deeds constitute the third aspect of a morale which applies to everyone, layman and cleric, because faith on its own does not lead to the Kingdom of Heaven. Indeed, that devotion which marked the times of the apostles does not exist anymore. The path to salvation passes through good deeds and those who, although having received the faith of Christ, finish their life in evil will be damned. Here, Origen and Augustine supply the material of argumentation.<sup>80</sup> One should go frequently to church to pray<sup>81</sup> and should not celebrate Mass in places forbidden by the canons. There is no benefit in worshipping if one does not listen with the ear of one's heart and if one is inattentive, or busy with chattering;<sup>82</sup> and one should pray frequently, even if there is no church in the vicinity, because God is everywhere.<sup>83</sup> Chapter 16 regroups the two canons of the *acta* of Paris and places emphasis on maintaining the Lord's Day, and on the necessity of frequent communion.

The last chapter of the treatise (the seventeenth) is devoted almost totally to a quotation from Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, which defines the ideal portrait of the Christian ruler.<sup>84</sup> There glorified are the kings who respect the precepts exposed in the treatise which precedes. Jonas especially emphasises that he only has the salvation of the king in view.<sup>85</sup> Dubreucq finds it significant that care for the salvation

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<sup>80</sup> Origen, *In Exodum homilia* VIII, 4 (PG 12, 355-356), St Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 67 (PL 40, 263-264).

<sup>81</sup> Chapter 13.

<sup>82</sup> Chapter 14, founded on an homily of Bede (*Homelia in quadragesima* I, 22) and a sermon by Caesarius of Arles (*Serm.* 13, 3).

<sup>83</sup> Chapter 15.

<sup>84</sup> Book V, chapter 24.

<sup>85</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 53, Chapter 17, l. 3-8.

of the prince was repeated at the end of the work, a true obligation on the bishops expressed it in the beginning of the treatise, in the *Admonitio*.

When *De institutione regia* is observed as an example of *Fürstenspiegel*, some basic traits can easily be discerned. Firstly, there is the definition of the prince in the world. This is followed by the definition of kingship and of its relationships to other powers. The third characteristic is the definition of the role of the prince. The last, but the most important of all, is the conduct of the ideal prince and the dangers which he should avoid with reference to these characteristics. Dubreucq describes Jonas' treatise as a continuation of *Via Regia (The Royal Path)* written by Smaragdus of St-Mihiel probably around 811-814,<sup>86</sup> where the main idea is that, in order to accomplish his duty, the king should follow the royal path, which is characterized by the exercise of the royal virtues, and in the first place, of justice.

The *De institutione regia* comes chronologically after Smaragdus' treatise. However, there is no indication that Jonas knew this work. As indicated in the Introduction, Jonas was followed by two other important writers of *Fürstenspiegel*, Sedulius Scottus, and Hincmar of Rheims whose work *De Regis Persona et Regio Ministerio (On the Person of the King and the Royal Ministry)* is the next treatise to be examined from among the Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel*.

Apart from other treatises on the person and the ministry of the king, a review of the other works of Jonas will be most advantageous in order to understand his concept of kingship better.

One of the most influential and representative of his works is the *Vita secunda sancti Hucberti*. While this saint's first *vita* was written in the eighth century, Jonas wrote his text at the request of an influential member of the court of Charlemagne,

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<sup>86</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 58.

Walcaud, upon the transfer of the saint's relics to a new monastery in 825. The history of St Hubert came to reflect the model Carolingian bishop. He is responsible for the people who are entrusted to him, he should lead them to salvation, and for this, he ought to shine in example and in deeds, and look after the improvement of his diocese. All of this is not easy. St Hubert acquires a combatant character and becomes a champion of faith. This is necessary for him to gain Heaven in the afterlife. His combat against vices receive the help of virtues such as piety, justice, charity, and pity. In this combat, the inner self should submit the outer self to servitude in order to accomplish his renovation. This notion is also visited in the *Admonitio* of *De institutione regia*.<sup>87</sup> In fact, throughout the *Admonitio*, the ideas Jonas uses to describe his model are given as small exhortations to his addressee. What is more, whereas this bishop embodies the combatant character of not only himself as a priest but also that of the lay Christian, Jonas also adds that this combat is also for everyone a journey, a *peregrinatio*.<sup>88</sup> To illustrate this peregrination, Jonas puts into view the transformation 'from vices to virtue, from the visible to the invisible and from the ephemeral to the eternal'<sup>89</sup> that will take place through a fugitive and fragile life.<sup>90</sup> Evidently Jonas' small exhortations are added to the four main advices, but not as systematically argued points. It can be argued that their major role is to prepare the prince for the principal message. In fact, it would be wrong to try to build a systematic structure of Jonas' advice, because in this particular treatise, the *De institutione regia*, he presents a selection of his overall ideas.

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<sup>87</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 157, l. 108-111.

<sup>88</sup> *peregrinatio* n l. departure (of a missionary) to a foreign land, 2. penitential exile, 3. monastic state, 4. crusade (Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs du Moyen-Age* (Turnholt, 1975)); note *peregrinor* v to stay in the present world (with a view to the exile of earthly life) (Niermeyer). Dubreucq, *Adm.* l. 95-98 (**157**)

<sup>89</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, *Adm.* l. 136-137 (**159**)

<sup>90</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, *Adm.* l. 65-67 (**153-55**); also, l. 104 (**157**).

Another such selection of advice is brought forward in *De institutione laicali* (*On the Lay Institution*, or as Pierre Riché suggests, *Primer for the Laymen*).<sup>91</sup> It was addressed to Count Matfrid of Orléans at the beginning of Jonas' period as the bishop. Hence it was written at an earlier date than the others. This count was a very influential figure in the politics of his age and was seen as one of the chief causes of the ruin of the empire according to Nithard, a historian of the Carolingian empire.<sup>92</sup> The letter of dedication shows that Jonas wrote the treatise at the inquiry of the count on the state of marriage. However, Jonas, ready to indulge in voluminous writing, wrote only 16 chapters about marriage, and only in the second book of the treatise which contained three books, with 20, 29, and 20 chapters respectively.

The first two books of it were mainly about moral concerns, and the importance of sacraments in the life of almost decadent nobility. Yet, the third book displays virtues and vices, and the moral behaviour which lay people in general should observe, in view of their salvation on the day of judgement. Still, Jonas is more careful with his planning of the treatise and, thus the whole work is rigorously shaped following a specific pattern. Each chapter has an introduction, followed by the definition of a problem or an abuse (*abusio*),<sup>93</sup> then with a file of authorities. A description of the behaviour to follow and a conclusion in the form of an exhortation are placed at the end.

*De cultu imaginum* (*On the Worship of Images*) was written between 825-840 in order to refute the ideas of Claudius, the bishop of Turin (from 817). He was a pupil of Felix of Urgel and an exegete who had been a protégé of the emperor Louis. When he came to his diocese he attacked the superstitions of the local people and many

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<sup>91</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 150.

<sup>92</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 28, cites Nithard, *Historiae*, p. 17.

<sup>93</sup> It is not clear on my part how much of this use of *abusio* Jonas owes to Pseudo-Cyprian.

doubtful practices.<sup>94</sup> He wrote a commentary on the *Epistle to the Corinthians* and sent it to his friend Abbot Theodemir. Theodemir doubted the orthodoxy of this commentary and in reply wanted him to correct his mistakes. A copy of Claudius' text was at the same time sent to the court at Aachen. Claudius wrote in reply a long treatise called *Apologeticum atque rescriptum adversus Theutmirum abbatem*. He was also called to the Synod of Paris in 825 in order to give an account of his opinions. Jonas joined this synod. Claudius refused to go there and went to Rome. Jonas began writing a refutation of Claudius' ideas but stopped in 827 when he heard of Claudius' death, although a great part of it had been finished by then. He resumed the work in 840 and dedicated it to King Charles the Bald. Here, Jonas confesses that he had not read the treatise Claudius wrote but only the summary which the emperor Louis had made sent to him.

The first book of Jonas' treatise on the worship of images is on the question of the icons and defines the opinion of the Synod of Paris in 825. Similar to *De institutione regia*, a part of the contents of the *acta* of Paris-825 are included in this first book of the treatise.<sup>95</sup> The second book refutes Claudius' opinions concerning the cult of the Cross, in a series of citations.<sup>96</sup> The third book is on the cult of the relics and the pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> David Ganz, 'Theology and the Organization of Thought' in McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, pp. 758-85 (p. 775).

<sup>95</sup> 'To worship images, Jonas stated, is not to worship idols as Claudius had affirmed. Images of saints and histories were not for worship but to give beauty to the churches. Jonas used Augustine's definition of the degrees of worship to distinguish between the adoration due to God from that which mortals show to mortals': Ganz, 'Theology', p. 777.

<sup>96</sup> 'The Cross was feared by demons and was the only support for the faithful crossing the sea of this world. Claudius said that if we wish to worship the Cross as an emblem of the Passion then we should adore virgins, manger, swaddling clothes, ships, asses, lambs, lions, rocks and thorns, and Jonas made a detailed mockery of these views. ... The Cross is not only a spiritual figure in memory, but when it is gazed at it prefigures the victory of the Lord's Passion': Ganz, 'Theology', p. 777.

<sup>97</sup> 'Jonas defended the cult of relics, for the bones of saints repel demons. If they were like animals, stones or wood, as Claudius stated, how do they perform miracles? ... Jonas affirms the intercession of the saints and the benefits of the pilgrimage. By seeing relics we are more likely to feel remorse; the saints' bodies are the habitations of God': Ganz, 'Theology', p. 777.

Indeed, Jonas did not put together a truly theological critique of Claudius' treatise. He criticised the weakening of the mediating position of the Frankish episcopacy. Nevertheless, Jonas was not successful in influencing the emperor, and Claudius in fact retained his see till his death.<sup>98</sup>

*De rebus ecclesiasticis non invadendis*<sup>99</sup> is a long treatise on the order of bishops present at the Synod of Aachen in 836. Louis the Pious had recommended its redaction and addressed Pippin I, king of Aquitaine, to reinstitute the Church goods that were secularised during the civil crisis of 830-33. A manuscript that is lost today attributes its redaction to Jonas. One group of manuscripts which contain *De institutione laicali* include this treatise on ecclesiastical goods between the second and the third chapters. The text is a compilation of biblical, patristic and canonical citations. It is composed of three books. Many passages of this treatise are similar to some in other writings of Jonas. Dubreucq's examples are, *De rebus* I, 35 similar to *De inst. laic.* II, 20; *De rebus* II, 7 to *De inst. reg.* 10; *De rebus* II, 18 to *De inst. reg.* 13 and *De inst. laic.* 11. The last paragraph of the admonition of the *De institutione regia*<sup>100</sup> is the same with the benediction that ends the *De Rebus*.

One of the initial conclusions from this chapter so far is that the *Vita secunda St Hucberti* and the *De institutione laicali* are the basic fundamental texts that are related with *De institutione regia* in the display of Jonas' overall world view and the philosophy of the Christian king. Taking all the texts and the secondary readings thereon one can lead to the understanding that the monastic reformation started during

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<sup>98</sup> Claudius and Jonas were not the only disputants of the issue of the images in ninth-century Francia. Many of Claudius's views were also supported and propagated by Agobard of Lyons, who cited from Augustine that even the pagans did not need images to worship (Ganz, 'Theology', p. 776). And before Jonas, it was Dúngal, an Irish monk at St-Denis, who wrote a full polemical treatise against Claudius of Turin (McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 164).

<sup>99</sup> Literally, *On the ecclesiastical things not-to-be-usurped*; my suggestion, *On the Inviolability of Ecclesiastical Matters*. Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 34.

<sup>100</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, p. 169.

Charlemagne's reign and continued with the reforms of Benedict of Aniane in the early years of Louis the Pious founded the theological interpretation of the world which culminated in the writings of Jonas. However, these are the near events that influenced his writings.

A more immediate observation is that Jonas came to understand Christian society as divided into three orders: the monks, who denounce the world and are the purest of all; the clergy, who follow the path of the apostles and are the people chiefly responsible for the salvation of the Christians; and, the rest is the third group, the lay people, who are headed by the king. However, as Jonas puts it, although the clergy is among the subjects of the king, because they are responsible for his salvation, they are superior to him.

The king is not separate from the lay element of society. In order to reach salvation, which is the primary goal of life, the life of the Christian and in particular that of the King became a life of combat. This is a fight against the vices, the instruments of which are virtues, as displayed in *Vita secunda sancti Hucberti*.<sup>101</sup> It is a combat of spirit, where piety, charity, justice and pity permit the victory in battle. This victory is Heaven. In this combat, the interior man should submit the exterior man to servitude in order to accomplish his *renovatio* and win his place in Heaven. If the life of the Christian is a combat, it is also a difficult voyage, a *peregrinatio* along a fugitive and fragile life.

It is in this perspective of a spiritual combat that Jonas gives to Pippin the four recommendations in which there is a mixture of social and moral concerns. The king should take care of his soul, be enriched with good deeds, confess his sins to his creator, and have always in memory his last day and the day of judgement in order to

desist from sinning. Therefore each Christian, and the king in particular, should open his heart to the divine word. Jonas employs the symmetry between the visible and the invisible, eternal and the ephemeral, and the ear of the heart to that of the body.

Clearly for Jonas, the day of judgement and salvation were main themes that produced this profound understanding of the society. As indicated in the summary of the *Vita secunda* above, the Christian is a traveller in the sea of this world and his *peregrinatio* will not definitely end up in Heaven, although he was raised as a Christian. There are many duties which a person should do, and many traps which he should avoid, in order not to be damned in the end. Whatever the station of one's life may be, and to whichever *ordo* he may belong, he has to worship God and remain in his service all his life. Each *ordo* has a distinct method of worship. The kings, of the lay people, ought to be defenders of the Christian church in the first place. Then they ought to fulfil the requirements given by Jonas to become and remain good Christians. These will help them win the spiritual combat which dictates the life of every individual Christian. It is in this spiritual perspective of a combat that Jonas gives Pippin the four recommendations: the king should look after his soul; he should enrich in good deeds; he should confess his sins to his creator; and he should everyday hold in his memory the day of his death and that of the last judgement in order to avoid sinning. It is thus that the Christians, the king most particularly, open their heart to the divine word.

The only practical aim in Jonas' treatise is revealed when he shows to the prince the necessity of harmony and mutual understanding between the sons of the emperor. However, the four pieces of counsel which Jonas gives to Pippin are far from political practicality: practice of good deeds, confession of sins, vigilation and meditation. It is

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<sup>101</sup> Exactly the same ideas in the *Admonitio* of *De institutione regia*, l. 136 (at **159** in the Appendix);



charity (*caritas*) on the part of the bishop that forces him to give this counsel,<sup>102</sup> because, repeating many times more, as bishop he is responsible for the king's salvation on the day of judgement.

### **Hincmar of Rheims' *De regis persona et regio ministerio* and *De ordine palatii***

These two treatises of Hincmar of Rheims are going to be examined from three sources. The source that has been used for *De regis persona et regio ministerio* (*On the Person of the King and the Royal Ministry*) is the *Patrologia Latina*, 125: 833-56.<sup>103</sup> *De ordine palatii* (*On the Order of the Palace*) is from two sources: the text in Latin and German on facing pages, with critical notes on the manuscripts and the text itself, in *Hincmarus De Ordine Palatii*.<sup>104</sup> This one also presents quotations in the text from other sources in italics. The second source is 'On the Governance of the Palace', translated by the late David Herlihy.<sup>105</sup>

Hincmar of Rheims was born in 806 in north-west Francia. He was educated at the monastery of St-Denis, Paris, under the direction of Abbot Hilduin. In 822 Hincmar went with him to the court of Louis the Pious at Aachen. In 830, Hilduin was banned from court and was sent to the monastery of Corvey; and Hincmar followed him. After Hilduin was pardoned, Hincmar returned to the monastery of St-Denis. In 833/34 Hincmar was counted as a regular member of the court. Louis died in 840.

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Chapter 3 l. 2-3; 16-17; 162-164.

<sup>102</sup> Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans, Adm.*, l. 253 (**169**).

<sup>103</sup> J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina* (Paris: Turnholt-Brepols, 1844-55).

<sup>104</sup> Thomas Gross, and Rudolph Schieffer, eds., *Hincmarus De Ordine Palatii*, MGH: Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui, 3 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchandlung, 1980).

<sup>105</sup> David Herlihy, ed., 'On the Governance of the Palace', in *The History of Feudalism* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1970), pp. 209-27.

Hincmar was made the archbishop of Rheims in 845 by Charles the Bald (r. 843-877).<sup>106</sup>

His most important intellectual activities were his polemical writings, firstly with the monk Gottschalk of Orbais concerning the latter's teachings on predestination; secondly with bishop Rithad of Soissons; and thirdly, with his own nephew, Hincmar of Laon.<sup>107</sup> He was most influential in the political disputes of the era as he was the bishop of Rheims between 845 and 882.

When Louis the German, half-brother of Charles the Bald and king of East Francia, invaded Charles' lands in 858, he was chosen as the spokesman of the leading churchmen for the synod which Louis summoned to build support for himself. He reminded the king that his actions were not in harmony with the welfare and unity of the Christian people. It was not comprehensible on the part of the bishops that Louis could have allied with laymen who plundered church property, who opposed brother against brother, and who out of self-interest provoked one lord against another. Rather, he should have listened to the bishops and considered the end of his actions, lest they be like that of his ancestor, Charles Martel, who was surely tormented in hell because of his actions against the church. Furthermore, the bishops did not support Louis' intervention into West Francia, and would hold up their king Charles. They, from the mouth of Hincmar, suggested that Louis leave West Francia and await a conference of the kings and the bishops where the bishops would teach the laymen because they 'as successors to the Apostles have received from Christ the task of governing the church that is His Realm'.<sup>108</sup>

As Riché states and can be detected from the part of this chapter on Jonas of Orléans, Hincmar is referring to the *acta* of the Synod of Paris of 829. A political

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<sup>106</sup> Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 145.

crisis was meant to be solved by episcopal supremacy over the king for the attainment of peace and concord in the church. It also proved successful, because in 859, Louis met Charles at Koblenz, and then at Strasbourg in 860, and the two kings, both promise to respect the terms of peace and in their respective kingdoms.

The second example that would show the influence of Hincmar in the West Carolingian politics is after the end of Charles' reign. After Charles died on the way from Italy to Francia on 6 October 877, his son Louis II (the Stammerer, r. 877-79) alienated most of the nobles by divesting them of their *honores* and benefices. The aged Hincmar wrote a letter to Louis and advised him to find a means of negotiation with his followers, and to apply the Capitulary of Quierzy of 877, which his father had left to him. It had contained the principles of dealing with the nobles and the bishops of the realm. Hincmar interpreted the capitulary as a political contract between the king and his followers and defended the idea that its authority would be enough to avert civil war. One further principle which he thought should have been upheld was the immunity of church possessions from taxation which had been imposed in the past twenty years but had not been existent, so Hincmar argued, during the reigns of Pippin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious. Secondly, no tribute should have been set with the excuse of war against the Northmen, as 'for many years there has been no defence of the kingdom, but rather only payments of ransom and tribute which have impoverished men and ruined the once rich churches'.<sup>109</sup>

Thus, Hincmar's importance for this study lies in the fact that he had been one of the most articulate defenders of the rights and privileges of the Church in ninth-century Francia. He had been a constant adviser to Charles the Bald. It was not only treatises on the conduct of the ruler but also doctrinal works that Hincmar wrote.

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<sup>109</sup> Gross and Schieffer, *Hincmarus*, p. 9.

Probably around 869/870, he wrote *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* (*On shunning the evil and exercising the good*), which was a detailed admonition for the king to shun from evil and to cultivate virtue. It was followed by his work which is the first subject of this chapter.

The king's office is unmistakably interpreted by Hincmar as a Christian one. Following the footsteps of Jonas of Orléans, the writings of Hincmar help demonstrate that the Carolingian political theorists were preoccupied with the Christian quality of kingship according to whom God bestowed to the king the power to govern and its responsibilities.<sup>110</sup>

*De regis persona et regio ministerio ad Carolum Calvum Regem* (*On the person of the king and the royal ministry to King Charles the Bald*), was written at the request of the king himself between 868 and 871.<sup>111</sup> As stated above, Charles the Bald was the last son of Louis the Pious by his second wife Judith. He was born on 13 June 823 and became half-brother to Lothar, Louis and Pippin. He was tutored by the leading Frankish prodigy of the times, Walahfrid Strabo, from whom he received the best possible education one could have attained in the king's court.<sup>112</sup> As a result of this education, Charles was thoroughly different from his brothers with regard to scholarly and literary endeavours of his time, and unlike Leo VI, the addressee of the second Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel* in this study, he paid full respects to his tutor during his time.

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<sup>108</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 173.

<sup>109</sup> Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 211.

<sup>110</sup> McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 190.

<sup>111</sup> McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823-877) and his library: the patronage of learning' in *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 477 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), V: pp. 28-47 (first publ. in *The English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 28-47), p. 35, n. 4. This is also indicated in the Preface of the treatise.

<sup>112</sup> McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 165; Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 152; Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Great*, p. 82-88.

The treatise is made up of a preface and thirty-three chapters. Hincmar starts by asserting how pleased God would be to hear that the king had requested his bishop to write a treatise on the ministry of the king. He congratulates the king on obeying God's precept conveyed in Haggai 2.11 which is: '[Thus says the Lord of Hosts:] Ask the priests for a ruling'.<sup>113</sup> Then, he does justice to the title 'Preface' and gives a small summary of the topics: that, the work is divided into three parts, the first being the piece on the person and the ministry of the king, the second being a piece on pity, and the last one on the avenge-taking of people against the commandments of the God, which the king should regulate.

The first chapter is related with the idea that as God appoints good kings, thus it is He who permits the rule of evil kings. Apart from references to the Old Testament, there is a quotation from Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*, even employing the term *rector*.<sup>114</sup> Chapter 2 has a substantial quotation from the ninth chapter of Pseudo-Cyprian's famous treatise, *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, which deals with the unjust king, *rex iniquus*:

The name of the king conveys in its meaning that his ministry as corrector should effect all his subjects. However, how is he able to correct others, if he does not correct his own behaviours so that they will not be unjust? For the seat of the king is exalted with justice, and thus the government of the people is consolidated. It is king's duty to be just, not to oppress anyone unjustly using force, not to make judgement between his relatives and others without accepting witnesses, to be the defender of aliens, the orphans, and the widows, to prevent thefts, to punish adultery, not to praise the unjust, not to feed with the unchaste and the stage-players, to drive the impious from the land, not to let parricides, and perjurers live, to defend the churches, to support the poor with alms, to appoint the over matters of the state, to keep old, wise, and chaste counsellors, not to pay attention to the superstitions of the magi, the diviners, and the witches, to disperse his wrath, to defend the land against the enemy bravely and justly, to trust in God for everything, not to depreciate his soul with riches, to tolerate all hardships patiently, to keep the catholic faith in God, not to let his sons to behave impiously, to maintain the fixed hours of worship, not take food before the certain hour. *Alas for you, O land, when your king is a child*

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<sup>113</sup> Migne cites at Haggai 2.12. I corrected it, but I do not follow the distinction in the Old Testament between Lord and LORD.

and your princes feast in the morning!<sup>115</sup> These bring prosperity to the present kingdom, and lead the king to the better kingdom in Heaven. However, he who does not rule his kingdom according to this law, will suffer many torments. For, often peace of the peoples will be broken, and riots will break against the state, the fruit of the lands will diminish, the services of the people will be fettered, many and varied agonies will inflict the prosperity of the kingdom, the death of the beloved and the children will cause sorrow, the invasion of enemies will devastate the provinces everywhere, beasts will tear the flocks of sheep and herds of cattle to pieces, the tempests of summer and winter will mix, they will prevent the produce of the soil, and the yield of the sea, and sometimes thunderbolts will destroy the hay, the flowering trees, and the vine-leaves. Over all, indeed, the injustice of the king will not only shade the face of the present kingdom, but will also cast shadow over his sons and grandsons so that they will not attain the inheritance of the kingdom after him. For it is because of the impiety of Solomon that the Lord lifted the kingdom of the house of Israel from the hands of his sons, and it is because of his justice that David had left the radiance of his descendants in Jerusalem. Now see to what a degree the justice of the king fortifies his century: it is the peace of the peoples, the defence of the land, the protection of the people, the fortress of the nation, the remedy of ailments, the joy of men, the calm of air, the serenity of the sea, the fertility of the land, the consolation of the poor, the succession for his sons, and for himself, the hope of the future blessing. However, it should be known that if he sits on the throne as the first among men, he will have the same place in the torments if he does not exercise justice. Indeed, all the sinners whom he has now under him, will be above him in those torments to come.<sup>116</sup>

In his third chapter, Hincmar quotes a considerable passage from Gregory the Great concerning the importance of correct administration for the sake of great strength, from his *Moralia*.<sup>117</sup> The passage Gregory selected stresses humility.<sup>118</sup>

Chapter 4 lists the qualifications of the counsellors the king ought to appoint. It is another large quotation, this time from Ambrose's *De officiis*.<sup>119</sup> Use, honesty, worth, good morals, faith, and justice are some of the qualifications.<sup>120</sup> In Chapter 5, the quotation is from Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, V: 24, which is also quoted at the end

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<sup>114</sup> See p. 32.

<sup>115</sup> Ecclesiastes 10.16.

<sup>116</sup> *PL*, 125: 835-36; the translation is mine, with occasional help from French translation in Dubreucq, *Jonas d'Orléans*, pp. 188-93. The original text of the ninth *abusio* is found in Anton, 'Pseudo-Cyprian', pp. 583-84. There are only negligible differences between this and Jonas' and Hincmar's quotations from it.

<sup>117</sup> *Moralia in Job* (*PL*, 75: 515-76: 782).

<sup>118</sup> Book XXVI, chapter 19.

<sup>119</sup> *De officiis ministrorum* (*PL*, 16: 23ff).

<sup>120</sup> Book II, chapter 17.

of Jonas' treatise. The emphasis is on the happiness of the ruler, asserting, nothing is more blissful than really knowing how to rule the kingdom, that is, in the way a good Christian ought to behave. Chapter 6 describes how the ruler should rule far and wide, with quotation from Augustine's same book, IV: 2.

Chapters 7-15 are related with the conduct of war. It is emphasised that war is not for the sake of bloodshed but for the defence of Christendom. Various points are made regarding the demeanour of the soldiers: for example, a quotation from another Father of the Church, St Jerome (c. 340-420) liken the Christian soldiers to the soldiers of Israel who go to war with peaceful minds, because they fight not with the lust of conquest, but in order to rebuild peace.

Chapters 16-33 continue in this manner by displaying a catalogue of good conduct and admonitions for the king, always quoting various findings of the Church Fathers, and occasionally supplying proofs from the Scriptures. In Chapter 25, Hincmar makes his second use of Pseudo-Cyprian with the description of the eleventh *abusio*, which is undisciplined people. The treatise ends with John 7.38-39:

"Let the one who believes in me drink. As the scripture has said, 'Out of the believer's heart shall flow rivers of living water.'" Now he said this about the Spirit, which believers in him were to receive.

Thus, Hincmar fulfils his duty to the king by supplying him with a learned treatise full of references to past teachers.

*Admonitio Hincmari Remorum archiepiscopi ad episcopos et ad regem Karolomannum per capitula* (The Admonition of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, to the bishops and to King Carloman, arranged in chapters) was written in

882, intended for the instruction of the young king Carloman (king of W. Francia 879-84), son of Louis the Stammerer, king of W. Francia (877-79).<sup>121</sup>

The treatise is neatly arranged. Following the short salutation and address, in the first section,<sup>122</sup> Hincmar immediately proposes the purpose of the work. Perhaps in order to give qualification to his authority, he presents his mentors by whom he was educated:

I was present at the deliberations concerning the Church and palace, when the realm flourished in size and unity, and I then heard the counsels and wisdom both of those who felicitously in these past times presided over the strength of the empire. By their instruction I learned the customs of our ancestors.<sup>123</sup>

He does not mention names here, but it is possibly significant that he does not simply pass immediately to the main subject matter but feels the need to indicate on what sort of people he rests his authority. For he is an old man now and a very well-known figure around both the Church and the Court.

Furthermore, before beginning his instructions, he also defends the importance of education, and especially one given at an early age, by means of examples taken from classical literature and, in the second section, from the Scriptures. The modern editors have identified the sources of the quotations made by Hincmar: namely, Horace's *Epistles*, and *Psalms*, and *Wisdom of Solomon* from the Old Testament.

Section 3 is devoted to a defence of his authority in undertaking the duty he has been assigned:

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<sup>121</sup> Herlihy, 'Governance of Palace', p. 208, but he makes Carloman the son of Louis III who was indeed his brother, as in Collins, *Early Medieval Europe*, p. 303 and in Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 211. I think he calls Louis the Stammerer Louis III, counting after Louis the Pious and Louis the German, whereas according to the other two sources, Lothar's son Louis is Louis II because of his emperorship. Another explanation may be since Louis the Pious was king of both Italy and Francia, Lothar's son Louis is Louis II of Italy, whereas Charles the Bald's son Louis is Louis II of Francia. Janet L. Nelson ends the discussion by asserting it was written for Charles the Bald's grandson King Carloman: *Charles the Bald*, p. 43.

<sup>122</sup> I follow Herlihy's section numbers. There is difference between them and the ones used in Gross and Schieffer, *Hincmar*.

<sup>123</sup> Herlihy, 'Governance of Palace', p. 209.



In response to the duty placed upon me and to your good and reasonable request, I therefore undertake the task you have set for me. I rely neither on my intelligence nor on my style but, as I said above, on the tradition of our ancestors.<sup>124</sup>

These the opening sentences of his argument defending his position as instructor are tied rather neatly to the position of his addressee as the king, with abundant quotations and references to the Scriptures.<sup>125</sup> Section 4 is about the origin and the election of bishops: why and in what fashion they are selected. Section 5 ties the subject of the bishops to that of the king. Here is also to be found the reference to Gelasius' letter to Anastasius. Hincmar says it was an important document for the recently-held council of Fismes, at the tomb of St Macre (April, 881).

Section 5 continues and ends with the etymological discussion of the term 'bishop' which is largely a quotation from Pseudo-Cyprian<sup>126</sup> and the functions attributed to the bishop. The proof of it is shown etymologically with *ἐπίσκοπος* > *superspeculator* > 'overseer'.<sup>127</sup>

Section 6 does the same thing for the term king. It is here that Hincmar indicates that he is basing his arguments on Pseudo-Cyprian concerning the functions of the king and the bishop. It is the king, who, in regard to the ninth abuse of the world in his treatise, 'should fulfil the office of *corrector* for his subjects'.<sup>128</sup>

Sections 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 relate the corresponding responsibilities and duties of the bishop and the king. In these sections, Hincmar starts relying on the teachings of Augustine and to a certain extent on those of Gregory the Great. Besides, there is a

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<sup>124</sup> Herlihy, 'Governance of Palace', p. 210.

<sup>125</sup> Ezekiel 3.17, John 7.18, and Matthew 25.21.

<sup>126</sup> This is supplied by Gross and Schieffer, *Hincmar*, p. 43; n. 53. Siegmund Hellmann, ed., *Pseudo-Cyprianus: De XII abusivis saeculi*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 34, 1 (Leipzig: [n.p.], 1909).

<sup>127</sup> Herlihy, 'Governance of Palace', p. 212. Jonas of Orléans used the same method for the same purpose, Alain Dubreucq, *De institutione regia* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995), pp. 70-71, 79.

<sup>128</sup> This time *regere* > *rex*, Herlihy, 'On the Governance of the Palace', p. 212.

new passage from the *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, the sixth *abusio*, concerning the noble without virtue:

It profits nothing to have the authority of commanding, if the lord himself does not have the strength of virtue. But this strength of virtue does not require external might, although this also is necessary to secular lords, but rather inner spiritual power. It ought to be practised along with good morals. For often the power of commanding is lost by weakness of spirit. Three things are necessary for those who rule: fear, obedience, and love. For unless the lord is equally loved and feared, his commands will avail little. Through favours and friendliness, let him seek to be loved, and through just punishments, not for injury to himself but for violations of the law of God, let him strive to be feared. Moreover, because many are dependent on him, he himself should adhere closely to God, Who established him in his position of rulership and Who, so to speak, fortified him to bear the burdens of many persons. For a peg, unless it is very strong and attached to something stronger than itself, quickly falls with everything hung upon it. Thus also the prince, unless he tenaciously adheres to his Creator, will quickly perish and all that he supports.<sup>129</sup>

It can be suggested that up to the end of these sections that Hincmar's treatise deserves to be included in the genre of the *Fürstenspiegel*, for after the section 11, he combines into his work an earlier treatise of Adalhard of Corbie, a contemporary of Charlemagne. This part in Hincmar's work demonstrates an idealised version of the central administration of the Carolingian empire at about the year 814.<sup>130</sup>

Admittedly, this addition can be regarded as one of the properties of this sample of *Fürstenspiegel*. Because very few of them also include descriptions of the actual functioning of the court, like *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*,<sup>131</sup> although there are many other treatises exclusively on the functioning of the court, which nevertheless do not pretend to educate or instruct the prince in other respects.

In this later treatise, Hincmar seeks a balance between the authority of the Church and that of the Court. This balance is to be maintained by the fact that the two parties

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<sup>129</sup> Herlihy, 'Governance of Palace', p. 214. The Latin text is in Gross and Schieffer, *Hincmar*, pp. 50, 52, and a part of it is also in Anton, 'Pseudo-Cyprian', p. 581.

<sup>130</sup> Herlihy's own comment in 'Governance of Palace', p. 209.

<sup>131</sup> *On the ceremonies of the Byzantine court*, written by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (r. 913-59) for his son, Romanus II (r. 959-63).

are both restricted or given spiritual responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the Christian society. First, it may be argued that they are the mentors of each other and that they ought to check each other always. It is clear that the king is assigned the duty to defend and protect the Church and the Christians. It is a God-given ministry to the king. The Church, on the other hand, has already been entrusted with the duty of watching over the Christian society.

Hincmar's attitude towards the relation of the two powers was most recently displayed at the Synod of Fismes in 881, and as he was the editor of its *acta*, the same relation that rests between Jonas and his conciliary activity also occurs between Hincmar and the synod of Fismes. According to Benson, Hincmar made better use of Gelasius' suggestion in *Tomus de anathematis vinculo*<sup>132</sup> by bringing the passages from the letter to Anastasius and from the *Tomus* into a single argument. An important addition which he made to the provisions of the two documents favoured the sacerdotal *auctoritas* against royal *potestas*: 'The dignity of pontiffs is so much the greater than that of kings, since kings are anointed into the royal office by pontiffs'.<sup>133</sup> However, Hincmar stopped here and did not continue to define the jurisdictional authority of the bishops over royal prerogatives enjoyed by the kings.

In Hincmar's two treatises, kingship is represented as a ministry entrusted by God. Yet, there is no mention of bishops in *De regis persona et regio ministerio* in order to recite their prominence in the Christian society. The prince remains subject to the laws; he should be the auxiliary of God and should defend the Church. There are no arguments in case of conflicts between the two powers, nor any allusion to past events regarding the same matter. The two treatises deserve to be called sermons, lecturing their addressees on their duties and the qualities for which they should strive.

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<sup>132</sup> Please see p. 23 above.

Having reached the end of this chapter, the closing remarks would be that, both Jonas and Hincmar were representatives of the only community which was trying to define the relations of powers in the society they lived. They lived in a society which was gradually forming a commonwealth that is unlike any other that had been common to their century. They did not write political theory in the true sense of the word, nor can they be said to have demonstrated a good description of the actual power relations of their time. However, their efforts merit attention because their works have been the only aspirations then to put into words ideas about how their society ought to be run.

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<sup>133</sup> Benson, 'The Gelasian Doctrine', p. 23. Note 53 on p. 40 points to the source *PL* 125: 1071.

## CHAPTER 3

### BYZANTINE *FÜRSTENSPIEGEL*

The two treatises of patriarch Photius examined in this chapter can both be regarded as examples of Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel*. Both the *Letter to Khan Boris of Bulgaria* and the *66 Hortatory Chapters* are found in the *Patrologia Graeca*.<sup>1</sup>

Before embarking upon the exposition of the career of the author and the contents of his treatises, it is necessary to outline the socio-cultural environment of the Byzantine society. In this endeavour some attention will be paid to the influence of iconoclasm on Photius and Byzantine political thought in the ninth century, since his upbringing is rooted in this movement's effects on the cultural atmosphere of the Byzantine court.

#### **Ninth-Century Byzantine Society after Iconoclasm**

Iconoclasm was the imperially-endorsed religious policy of removing the icons of holy persons and other visual material from the places of worship. It started during the reign of Leo III (r. 717-741)<sup>2</sup> in 726-727, and continued into the reign of his son and successor Constantine V (co-emp. from 721, r. 741-775). During Constantine's reign, a synod was convened in 754 to give the necessary canonical validity to the official policy. However, the western Christians refused to attend and although the iconoclasts called it the seventh ecumenical council, it never amounted to one. The official fervour of the destruction of images and some rate of persecution of the iconodules continued into the reign of Constantine's son and successor, Leo IV (r. 775-780). After, Leo IV, his empress, Irene (797-802) took over the regency, because their son Constantine VI was then only ten years old.

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<sup>1</sup> J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 102: 627-96, and 107: XXI-LVI respectively.

Having been brought up in Athens with a strong devotion for image-worship, Irene proceeded with caution against for overthrow of the iconoclastic policy. The destroyers of images had been in full strength for half a century, and nearly all important positions in the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies were held by iconoclasts. Although she found enough iconodules with whom to fill the bishoprics gradually, Patriarch Paul IV (780-784) vehemently opposed the restoration of images.<sup>3</sup> Irene then appointed her secretary Tarasius to the post of patriarch. He was a very well-educated layman, and a staunch orthodox with a thorough religious training. His first act was to convene an ecumenical council to repudiate the canons of the iconoclast synod of 754. The council was convened in Nicaea in 787 with delegates from Rome and the Christian population beyond the empire's eastern boundary, and it is therefore a legitimate ecumenical council, the seventh and last according to the Eastern Church. Nevertheless, the papacy did not endorse its canons due to the opposition of the Carolingian court.<sup>4</sup>

Although Patriarch Tarasius had done a very careful preliminary work, a serious matter rose to the surface: how to deal with the iconoclast bishops. The unrepentant iconoclast bishops were deposed from their seats but did not receive further punishment. The bishops who abjured their heresy retained their positions despite the vehement reaction from the monastic community.<sup>5</sup> The monks were headed by Plato, abbot of the monastery of Saccudium, and his nephew, Theodore, the future abbot of the monastery of Studium in Constantinople.<sup>6</sup> Heated discussions caused an

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<sup>2</sup> Dates are from George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. by Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), p. 580.

<sup>3</sup> However, when he became seriously ill, he saw his illness as a warning from God and recanted. Steven Runciman says how the empress took as many iconoclast officials as she could collect to visit him on his sickbed, Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 81.

unbridgeable rupture between these 'zealots,' who would not consider any compromise with the 'Simoniacs', and the other faction, the 'politicians' who preferred a compromise and were prepared to co-operate with the secular authority.<sup>7</sup>

On the main question of faith, however, there was unanimity in the orthodox doctrine. Following St John of Damascus who wrote speeches against the emperors Leo III and Constantine V, the council declared that there was a link between the icon-worship and the doctrine of salvation, and that veneration was directed not to the icon but to the holy person depicted on it. In the final session, all decisions of the council were confirmed and signed by Irene and the infant emperor.

This was not the end of iconoclasm, but before that, one more event which brought the zealots and the moderates into a confrontation again should be mentioned. Around 793, Irene's son, Constantine VI had divorced his wife and married his mistress. This violation of the ecclesiastical law was not punished by patriarch Tarasius and, despite the uproar of the monks, he did not excommunicate the emperor or the priest who had performed the marriage. This so-called 'moechian' controversy<sup>8</sup> revealed the fact that the monks were a recalcitrant community, ready to cause serious unrest against both the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities.<sup>9</sup>

The monks were agitated again in 806 when Tarasius died and they expected the appointment of their leader Theodore the Studite to the patriarchal throne. Instead, the then emperor Nicephorus I (r. 802-811) selected a namesake to the post. Patriarch Nicephorus (the Historian, 806-815) was a layman and a higher government

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<sup>7</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 179.

<sup>8</sup> 'ἡ μοιχεία adultery, *Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon* 7th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889; 1996).

<sup>9</sup> In this case, although they did not attain their goals, they were only satisfied when Irene started a full-blown economical recession against all needs of the state, repealing various taxes and abolishing the municipal tax which the inhabitants of Constantinople had to pay. Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 182.

official like Tarasius, and very well-versed in secular teaching beside theology.<sup>10</sup> The emperor strongly insisted on this decision, because he was an advocate of the submission of the clergy to the imperial authority.

The emperor's second assertion of imperial/secular command came in 809, when he convened a synod and ordered the recognition of the marriage of Constantine VI to his mistress, and also the reception into communion of the priest who married them. This time, the Studite monks revolted openly. They were exiled from the city and were only able to return under the rule of a feeble emperor, Michael I Rangabe (r. 811-813), who succeeded after Nicephorus had been brutally killed in a battle against the Bulgar khan Krum in 811.

After their return, Theodore the Studite started to enjoy immense authority among his followers and exerted an overwhelming influence on the emperor.<sup>11</sup> The synodal decree of 809 was totally repealed and the aforementioned priest was again excommunicated.

They were to be totally disillusioned when a military confrontation with Bulgaria caused Michael's deposition and the beginning of the reign of Leo V (the Armenian, 813-20) which brought about the second period of iconoclasm. It has been argued that the moechian controversy and the military defeats thwarted the strength of the image-worshipper governments, and that there used to be a longing for an able ruler, regardless of his religious inclination.<sup>12</sup> Hence, Leo V was a long-expected emperor in military affairs.

He was of the same community with his namesake emperor Leo III, and like him, he had been the *strategus* before ascending the throne. As soon as he became the emperor, he commissioned John the Grammarian (or, Grammaticus) to make the

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<sup>10</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 187.



preliminary work for a future synod which would repudiate the iconodule policy for a second time.<sup>13</sup> Both the zealot and moderate iconodules united in opposition to this new attempt of imperial dictation of religious dogma. In future the zealots would increasingly grow to detest imperial intervention.

Nicephorus the Historian was deposed, and Theodore the Studite was exiled. However, this second revival of iconoclasm did not enjoy the relatively high level of support which the first one had. Leo was in constant danger of losing the throne.<sup>14</sup> Eventually, the friends of a Michael who later ascended the throne as Michael II (the Amorian, 820-29) brought his death by assassination. Although Michael called the exiled Nicephorus and Theodore back, he did not abolish iconoclasm. Although he annulled the *acta* of both the second council of Nicaea and the iconoclastic one in 815, undoubtedly, he was more sympathetic to the iconoclastic cause, for he did not re-instate the orthodox Nicephorus to the patriarchate after the intervening patriarch Theodotus Melissenus (815-21) died. Instead, he appointed Antonius (I Kassimatas, 821-34). The new patriarch was a plain iconoclast, and he had helped John the Grammarian compile records for the iconoclastic council of 815. Moreover, John the Grammarian was made tutor to Michael's son and heir Theophilus.

The second period of iconoclasm was characterized by the personality of Theophilus (829-42), who was a very well-educated prince.<sup>15</sup>

The persecution against the iconodules reached its height when John the Grammarian was appointed the patriarch in 837 (till 843).<sup>16</sup> Although the movement

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<sup>11</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 198.

<sup>12</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 84.

<sup>13</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 85, and Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, pp. 201-202.

<sup>14</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 203.

<sup>15</sup> His case is illustrative of the situation in Byzantine Empire, where there had been emperors who did not know even how to write, but their sons became eminent figures in Byzantine culture. This is the influence of the Byzantine capital and the high level of culture at the court.

<sup>16</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 209, but he says John became the patriarch in 834 in the chronology of the patriarchs on p. 585.

was limited to the capital at this time, considerable damage was given to the monastic property along with their inhabitants. However, after the emperor's death in 842, the fervour of the policy faded away.

The conclusion which can be derived from the end of the iconoclasm is that Byzantium acquired a distinct character during the crisis. It is true that, since Justinian I's reign (527-65), Byzantine institutions had been evolving into ever more particular forms, different from their late Roman antecedents. The inhabitants of the empire and mainly the occupants of the high levels of government, both in the ecclesiastical and the secular institutions, perceived themselves as perpetrators of a commonwealth drawn along the Roman imperial pattern and also that of a chosen society that benefits from the guardianship and supervision of God. The emphasis of the first vision will be examined later, but first some more will be said concerning the second.

The relation between God and the Byzantine people was a very special one. There had been immense discussions on the essence of the Divine Trinity. Heated arguments on the person and the nature of Christ had started various schisms both within the Byzantine/Eastern Roman society and between that and the rest of Christendom.

Iconoclasm is the last crisis in the development of the Byzantine social perception. Certainly, there is much in it that the Byzantine culture owes to eastern influences. Mark Whittow argues that the decision of the first two iconoclast emperors, Leo III and Constantine V, to abolish icon-worship, in order to receive God's favour which had been withdrawn for some time in the near past, worked successfully as state ideology. The loss of immense eastern territory to the Arabs was interpreted as God's renouncing His protection and favour on the Byzantines. Their special connection

with God had been shattered for some reason, and it should be sought in the piety of the people. If the God had bestowed his favour on the Arabs, a monotheistic tribe who saw idolatry in the religious use of images, then it might be that the Byzantines were erring in their adoration of the images.<sup>17</sup> Initially, iconoclasm came to be believed as the 'key to winning God's favour,' but later as both parties of the crisis read more of the patristic texts, they understood that it was iconodule worship that would win God's favour.

However, this became apparent later and, as Whittow continues, it was the short-term political developments that ended iconoclasm, never to be revived again. Whittow draws a connection between the martial fortunes of Byzantium and the fates of various 'heresies':

The Byzantine world began to question its relationship with God because of the Arab conquests. Monotheletism failed because Arab victories continued; Chalcedonian orthodoxy re-established itself in the 670s and 680s because the Arabs turned to civil war and allowed the Byzantines to recover and achieve some military success. The assertion of effective control by the Marwānid caliphs Abd al-Malik and Walīd, and their interest in the conquest of the Byzantine world led to political and ideological crisis for the empire and in turn to iconoclasm – itself a creed initially developed by Christians inside the new Islamic world. The first two iconoclast emperors, Leo III and Constantine V, benefited during the 730s and 740s from the greater interest which the later Marwānids had in the Persian as opposed to the Byzantine world, and then from the political crisis which led to the fall of the Umayyad caliphate and its replacement by the Abbāsids. By the 770s the Abbāsids were secure in power and turned their attention to the holy war with Byzantium. This growing military threat was inherited by Irene, and her return to icon worship was blighted by Hārūn al-Rashīd's personal involvement with holy war and his concern for the frontier regions facing Byzantium. His successors in the early ninth century were largely preoccupied by internal political struggles until the end of the 820s. Ironically, however, this gave Nicephorus I the opportunity to pursue an aggressive policy in the Balkans which led him and icons to disaster in Bulgaria in 811. Elsewhere, in the Islamic world, Muslims outside the political control of the Abbāsīd caliphate, such as the Aghlabid emirs of Ifrīkiya (North Africa) who invaded Sicily in 827, and the exiled Spanish Muslims who came via Alexandria to conquer Crete at about the same time, shook confidence in restored iconoclasm, but its fall coincided with the renewed interest of the Abbāsids in holy war during the 830s which

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<sup>17</sup> Mark Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium: 600-1025* (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp.

culminated in 838, the year of the sack of Amorium. Restored icons had the fundamental advantage of the growing divisions within the Islamic world from the mid-ninth century onwards and the resulting impotence of the Abbāsid caliphate. The end of the Arab threat set the seal on the restoration of the icons.<sup>18</sup>

It is very interesting to draw this parallel between vacillating military and political fortunes and their alleged effects on the worship of icons. In this view, iconoclasm becomes a pious and mental absorption which kept the Byzantine power-circles busy, pondering on their fate in a world devoid of the divine preservation they had enjoyed for so long.

Out of this crisis, Byzantium emerged changed. The most important new element in the society became the community of the monks who increasingly started to criticise the interpretation of the emperor's position *vis-à-vis* the Church: that is, they advocated completely his inclusion within the society as ruled by the Church, not above and immune to it.

The Byzantines were assured of their status in the divine favour, but in return, they alienated themselves from the rest of the Christendom which they had been considering as their subordinates in a hierarchy of states crowned by the commonwealth of Byzantium. It is now the continuation of the Roman imperial perception and its effects on the identity of Byzantines that will be discussed.

## **Byzantine Imperial Ideology**

It has been said that the Byzantines saw themselves as the perpetrators of a commonwealth drawn along the Roman imperial pattern. This was a highly Christianised empire, with the emperor as 'the image of God upon earth'.<sup>19</sup> The first Christian emperor, Constantine, both as described by past scholars and as interpreted

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158-65.

<sup>18</sup> Whittow, *Orthodox Byzantium*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>19</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 5.

by later ones, was the model for all the succeeding emperors. In fact, he was the last in a chain of rulers who saw themselves and were seen by others as standing in a special relation to God, to the extent that he was often considered a priest-king.

The development of various concepts related to kingship has been addressed in the Chapter 1 above. Here, Eusebius of Caesarea will be given special attention in order to understand the new role which the Roman emperor adopted.

His initial move was to make a connection in his *Vita Constantini* with Augustus and Constantine; one had founded the empire, the other elevated it to divine commonwealth.<sup>20</sup> On the thirtieth anniversary of Constantine's rule, he said 'There is but one God, not two, or three, or more ... and one basileus, one royal word and law.'<sup>21</sup> He again announced that the monarch should be the imitation of God, and sanctions him with all the properties the pagan philosophers sanctioned their rulers, expecting from him though to provide the world with peace and belief in God. Only through this action would the emperor become a faithful imitation of the kingdom of God. He will become 'the monarch of the whole universe, the representative of God on earth, the symbol of the one human race, of the one God'.<sup>22</sup>

With these words, Eusebius laid the foundations of Byzantine political thought, and of the formula of the relations between the lay and secular branches of the empire. In his aforesaid oration on the thirtieth anniversary of the emperor's reign, he made the emperor the friend of the Christian Logos, the Word of God, Christ. As the emperor's earthly reign is a representation of the heavenly kingdom, the emperor

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<sup>20</sup> Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 9, 2 vols (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1966), II, p. 616 citing *Vita Constantini*, II, 19, IV, 29, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, 7 (Euseb., I), pp. 48ff, 128ff, and *PG*, 20: 996f, 1177f.

<sup>21</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, p. 616 citing *De laudibus Constantini*, 3, GCS, 7 (Euseb., I), p. 201, and *PG* 20: 1332. He says 'thirtieth' which is improbable, attested by Donald M. Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought,' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-c. 1450*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 51-79 (p. 52) citing Eusebius, *Triakontaeterikos*, ed. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke*, vol. I (1902), I-X, XI-XVIII.

performs his functions in the capacity of a unique saviour.<sup>23</sup> He continues by describing the emperor:

He derives his reason from the great source of all reason; he is wise and good and just, as having fellowship with perfect wisdom, goodness, and righteousness; virtuous, as following the pattern of perfect virtue; valiant, as partaking of heavenly strength. And truly may he keep the imperial title, who has trained his soul to royal virtues after the standard of the heavenly kingdom.<sup>24</sup> ... [Constantine] is a victor in truth, who has gained the victory over those passions which master the rest of men; his character is formed after the Divine original of the Supreme Sovereign and his mind reflects as in a mirror the radiance of God's virtues. Hence is our Emperor perfect in discretion, in goodness, in justice, courage, piety, and devotion to God. He truly is a philosopher, and none other, since he knows himself. ... He sets forth magnificent language the praises of God and imitates His divine philanthropy by his imperial acts.<sup>25</sup>

In another passage, he comes near to asserting God's sending revelations to the emperor, and another passage describes how the emperor dazzles his subjects' eyes:

Thus our Emperor, like the radiant sun and through the presence of the Caesars, illuminates his subjects in the remotest corners of his Empire with the piercing shafts of his brightness. ... He then, like a sublime charioteer, drives and urges the four Caesars, the powerful team of horses he has harnessed to his imperial chariot, holds the reins with miraculous singleness and mastery, and rides over the whole world under the sun, present everywhere and alive to everything. Lastly, bearing the image of the heavenly empire, with his eyes fixed on high, he rules the lives of mortals after that original pattern, with the strength drawn from an imitation of God's monarchy.<sup>26</sup>

In yet another passage, the emperor is resembling a father:

For what in family relationship parents are to their children, that the king is to the state and God is to the world, since by the immovable laws of nature, he harmonises the two most beautiful things in indissoluble union namely, rulership and protecting care.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, p. 616.

<sup>23</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, p. 617.

<sup>24</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, p. 618 citing *De laudibus Constantini*, 5, GCS, 7, p. 203, and PG 20: 1333.

<sup>25</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 618-19 citing *De laudibus Constantini*, 2, GCS, 7, p. 200, and PG 20: 1328.

<sup>26</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 620 citing *De laudibus Constantini*, 7, GCS, 7, p. 201, and PG 20: 1329.

<sup>27</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 621 citing *Praeparatio evangelica*, VIII, 14, GCS, 43, I (Euseb., I), p. 462f, and PG 21: 652f.

Eusebius not only transferred the Hellenistic concepts of kingship into a Christian world, but he also brought a definition of the emperor's relations with the material and spiritual matters. He relates the emperor's words:

Since I know that you also worship the Supreme being, I advise your Excellency that I do not consider it proper to conceal all these quarrels and wrangles. For they might well rouse God not only against the human race, but also against me, to whose rule and care His holy will has committed all earthly things, and provoke other measures. I shall never rest content nor expect prosperity and happiness from the All Holy the right worship of the catholic religion in a common brotherhood.<sup>28</sup>

in a letter Constantine wrote in 314 to his envoy in Africa concerning the convening of a synod in Arles aiming at bringing an end to the Donatist schism in Africa. Clearly, he enforces the correct way of worshipping. Afterwards, in 316, Constantine sent a letter to the governor of Africa, Celsus, concerning the same issue:

For I believe that I would incur a very heavy responsibility if I were dishonest enough to neglect my duty to my realm and not remain its ruler, or were I not to dissipate all errors, scatter all unfounded opinions, and present to Almighty God true religion, unfeigned concord, and dignified worship.<sup>29</sup>

Another example, in which Constantine defines his position regarding religious policy, is the following passage from a letter sent to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria and Arius concerning the Arian controversy:

[I plan] to restore to health the body of the [Roman] world, so badly shaken by a severe illness, ... to gather what is sound in what all the nations think of God into one common creed and practice. ... For it seems to me that if I could establish the same concord between all the worshippers of God as there exists between you and me, the government of the state would receive the improvements which all so patriotically desire. ... By the Providence and under the protection of the Saviour, grant to me, His servant and worshipper, that I may bring this work to the happy conclusion of seeing His people recalled to the unity of the faith by my words, my assistance, and my urgent appeals.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 635 citing *Epistula Constantini ad Aelafium*, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 26, p. 206 (Appendix, 3).

<sup>29</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 636 citing *Epistula Constantini ad Celsum vicarium Africae*, *CSEL*, 26 (Appendix, 7), p. 212.

<sup>30</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 636-37 citing *Vita Constantini*, II, 64-72, *GCS*, 7, pp. 67-71, and *PG* 20: 1037-1048.

A more direct reference to his ecclesiastical authority is displayed in the letter he sent to Bishop Athanasius concerning the acceptance of Arius to the church which also hints at possible tangible action:

Now you know my will. To all those who desire to enter the Church, do you provide free entry. For if I hear that you have hindered any who share in the faith of the Church or that you have barred such from entering, I will immediately send one with orders to depose you and send you into exile.<sup>31</sup>

With reference to these evidences of Constantine's vision, of his mission and of Eusebius' writings concerning this ideal, Runciman posed practical questions: how would the Roman constitutional tradition continue to be observed regarding the semi-real election of the emperor by the army, the people and the senate, or what would be the actual relations between the emperor and the ecclesiastical authorities if the emperor claimed to define religious policy?<sup>32</sup>

The first of these questions was ignored and time has proven that many of the emperors have been proclaimed and deposed through these institutions. Regarding the second question however, it has been suggested that Constantine was a very lucky autocrat because during his reign Christian society lacked an effective ruler to protect its unity and entity.<sup>33</sup>

Hence, the Eusebian constitution came to regard the emperor as such. He was the supreme head of the society. Most of the time, the Byzantines idealistically interpreted their empire as the only one there had been, and like in the solution of the iconoclast crisis, they also under-rated their position in the world political system and sought ways to remedy the situation. However, throughout the existence of the Byzantine Empire, there had been the overwhelming influence of the Roman imperial institutions through which the newer institutions of the Christian empire had been

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<sup>31</sup> Dvornik, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 637 citing Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 59, PG 25: 357.

<sup>32</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, pp. 23-24.



perpetuated. Another constant theme throughout this long period was that no other scholar appeared and introduced a new interpretation of the Byzantine political system. This is not to suggest that the emperors might have formally been educated about the 'Eusebian constitution', for there was no textbook for that, but because they were in constant contact with the intellectual circle, ecclesiastical and secular, which was very well-versed in the prevalent ideas which the Eusebian constitution was conveying, the emperors and their children enjoyed total comprehension of it.

When admitting that their commonwealth had descended from that of the pagan Romans, the Byzantines never underestimated the role of Constantine in the Christianisation of the empire, which they saw as the true beginning of their state. In subsequent generations, this idea consolidated itself and brought about the case that the Byzantines always regarded their commonwealth as a God-given gift. This can best be displayed with this passage regarding the union of the Roman empire with the Providence:

While Christ was still in the womb the Roman Empire received its authority from God as the agent of the dispensation which Christ introduced, since at that very time began the never-ending line of the successors of Augustus. The Empire of the Romans thus participated in the majesty of the Kingdom of Christ, for it transcends, so far as an earthly realm can, every other power; and it will remain unconquered until the final consummation.<sup>34</sup>

There had been no break in the course of the empire comparable with the events which occurred in the West. Because of the persistence and the longevity of the central government with its full power in all departments of state, and because of the lack of any rightful attempt to change it, there had not been another theoretician to argue for change or revision. In fact, Donald Nicol has argued that such a concept as political theorising had never occurred in Byzantium:

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<sup>33</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 24

<sup>34</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought,' p. 55 citing Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie Chrétienne*, II.74, 75.

The Byzantines themselves accepted the Empire as *sui generis*, because it was sent from God, and any idea of theorising about it never entered their minds.<sup>35</sup>

This was a strong contrast to the actual situation in western Europe where the political institutions had been completely cut off from their Roman inheritance and, compared with the Byzantine institutions, the ones that survived were underdeveloped and short-lived. The only one resembling the Byzantine counterpart was the ecclesiastical organisation. It was more or less the only social institution that dated back to Roman times.

Having thus attempted to unfold the essence of Byzantine political thought, it is necessary to continue explaining the factors that had played important roles in the composition of the two Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel* from the ninth century. The central one has already been expounded: the Byzantines had such a high view of their position that they saw their empire as planned by God and its government as preordained by God together with the divine protection of the emperor.<sup>36</sup> Hence, there was little need for innovation in that.

An exception to this general rule is *De administrando imperio* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. It was not intended for public use and hence did not employ the cumbersome language in which such treatises were mostly written. It has been described as 'a manual on kingcraft rather than kingship',<sup>37</sup> and it offers realistic and practical advice to the heir Romanus II in his difficult task. However, it does not address the fundamental concepts of Byzantine political thought, but rather it shows very clearly how the Byzantines saw themselves *vis-à-vis* their neighbours, and how

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<sup>35</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought,' p. 55 citing W. Ensslin, 'The Government and Administration of the Byzantine Empire', in *Cambridge Medieval History*, ed by Joan M. Hussey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), IV, 2, pp. 1-53.

<sup>36</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought,' p. 55.

<sup>37</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought,' p. 57.

the ancient constitution of the Byzantine empire defined diplomatic relations and foreign policy. As Nicol states:

The 'nations' beyond the bounds of the empire, insatiate in their greed, were to be dazzled and intimidated by the divinity of the successors of Constantine, by their sacred vestments and diadems and by the religious ceremonial of their court.<sup>38</sup>

Through court and religious ceremony, the Byzantines created imperial authority and established their commonwealth. Patriarch Photius' treatise on the personal attributes of the emperor can be placed within this framework.

### **The Career of Patriarch Photius**

Patriarch Photius was born around 810-820 in Constantinople and was a member of an influential family. He was related to Patriarch Tarasius through his father and to the Regent-Empress Theodora and her brother Bardas through his mother. During the iconoclastic persecution his family, although an influential one, was condemned and exiled from Constantinople. Still, he received a solid education mainly based on the classics and later, under the regency of Theodora (843-856), he became a distinguished teacher. His rise to the patriarchal seat was due to the conflict between the Patriarch Ignatius (847-858) and Caesar Bardas who was ruling the Empire in the name of the young king Michael III.

This conflict is rooted in the aftermath of the first period of iconoclasm. Ignatius' father was Emperor Michael I Rangabe who had left the throne to Leo V. His son Nicetas became a monk with the name Ignatius and became a member of the monastic community in the city. As mentioned above, this was not a calm and peaceful circle, but rather a cantankerous clique which advocated image-worship, opposing the emperor and suffering from the consequences of their opposition. The monks, especially those based on the Monastery of Studium in Constantinople, were the

embodiment of the idea that the Church ought to be the supreme arbiter in every aspect of the Christian life. They were in a position that opposed the idea of a Church being more of a state department as often regarded by the emperors.<sup>39</sup>

The conflict between patriarchs Photius and Ignatius was a continuation of this schism. Ignatius was a brave defender of image-worship during the iconoclastic reigns of Emperors Michael II and Theophilus (together 820-842, which constitutes the second iconoclastic period). However, he was devoted to the monastic cause. He did not meet the expectations of the state, for example, in relations with the Papacy.<sup>40</sup> When Theodora's brother, Bardas, usurped her regency with the title of Caesar, he deposed the patriarch with the pretext of a plot against the emperor. Then he appointed Photius as the new patriarch (858). Like Tarasius, who was his great-uncle, Photius was the head of the chancery and thus a lay public officer. His refinement in theological and secular education was legendary. He was the best scholar who was trained in the renewed interest of classical learning which began under the reign of Theophilus, and would train people in the same tradition.

His prime observation of the imperial and the ecclesiastical spheres of power was that the two must act in harmony. In contrast to his views regarding the same matter in his second patriarchate, Photius was an advocate of supporting and aiding the temporal policies of the emperor, rather than take an active part in directing the society.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought,' p. 57.

<sup>39</sup> To begin with, it ought to be remembered that when Irene strove to end iconoclasm and appointed Tarasius as the patriarch in 784, the monks opposed his quick reconciliation with the repentant iconoclastic bishops. They demanded heavy punishment for them. Tarasius was more of a moderate character while the Studites were reaching extremism in their demands.

<sup>40</sup> Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 92.

<sup>41</sup> Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, AD 610-1071* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 169.

The period of Photius' first patriarchate (858-867) was that of a triumphant orthodoxy and military glory under the rule of Bardas. Missionaries were sent to Bulgaria (see below) and this newly-converted kingdom was drawn into the cultural sphere of Byzantine influence. The military push after the victory over the Arabs in 863 frustrated the Pope's attempts to connect Bulgaria to Rome and the Bulgarian king failed to obtain a more national and independent status for his country. These were doubtless perceived as proof that society at large would benefit from the harmonious relationship of the civil and ecclesiastical heads of the Byzantine state.

Hence, mature behaviour on the part of the patriarch saved the integrity of the Byzantine identity. In fact, almost everything he wrote has enabled the modern scholars to understand more about Byzantine culture.

His most important work is the *Bibliotheca* (*Μυριόβιβλον*), which Photius is believed to have described as a 'list and description of books we have read'. There are various dates ascribed to this work. According to Warren Treadgold there are 386 books that are described in it. A. Markopoulos argued that the greater part of the work was a revision of an earlier work undertaken by Photius in his old age. B. Hemmerdinger imagined Photius working in the Greek libraries of Baghdad, and N. Wilson produced the hypothesis that Photius was working from memory. Even these various suppositions add to the legendary scholarship of Photius.<sup>42</sup>

[In *Bibliotheca* he surveyed] both pagan and Christian authors, sometimes very extensively, sometimes briefly. Photius evidently avoids school texts (poets, Plato, Aristotle), is very interested in heretical works, and devotes more attention to historians than to natural science. ... The composition is not systematic, although several 'codices' are organised in thematic groups. Photius sometimes provides biographical data on the author, summarises the contents, and in some cases presents a theological and stylistic evaluation. Although Photius preferred a

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<sup>42</sup> Alexander P. Kazhdan, 'Bibliotheca' in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Alexander P. Kazhdan and others, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

simple style, the *Bibliotheca* demonstrates that he could appreciate diverse stylistic approaches.<sup>43</sup>

## **Patriarch Photius, the Macedonian Dynasty and the 66 Hortatory Chapters**

Michael III (842-67) never ruled in his own right but was under the constant influence of his uncle, Caesar Bardas. However, he was the legitimate emperor legitimately and, around 860, made Basil his favourite, although the latter was then a mere groom in the imperial court. In 866, Basil killed Bardas during a naval expedition, upon which he received the crown of the co-emperor from Michael. A year later, as Michael was beginning to lack favour to him, Basil had him killed by his men and declared himself emperor.<sup>44</sup>

Almost the first thing he did was to depose Photius and instead re-appoint Ignatius to the patriarchate. However, Photius found the means of attaining and securing imperial favour again, and was made patriarch upon the death of Ignatius in 877. Prior to that, Basil had made Photius tutor to his sons, Constantine, Leo, Stephen, and Alexander. Constantine was the crown-prince who was also loved affectionately by the emperor. Stephen started a career in the church at an early age. It is not known if Photius had written a *Fürstenspiegel* for Constantine, but the latter died under rather mysterious conditions in 879.<sup>45</sup> Basil did not love Leo, nor did Leo Basil, for Leo was most probably the son of Michael III whose mistress Basil had married.<sup>46</sup> After about 875 Photius had become tutor to Leo, and it must be thanks to this education that Leo later earned the nickname 'the Wise.'

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<sup>43</sup> Kazhdan, 'Bibliotheca'.

<sup>44</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 232.

<sup>45</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 241, Jenkins, *Byzantium*, p. 195.

<sup>46</sup> There is still much discussion on the topic of Michael's and Basil's offspring, see Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 233, n.1. Runciman also proposes Basil might be affected by Photius against Leo, *Theocracy*, p. 94.

Photius' approach to government in the *Hortatory Chapters-Kephalaia Parainetika* is drastically different from his views which he held during his first tenure of the patriarchal throne. This change in his opinion has been attributed to his growing desire of power.<sup>47</sup> However, this interpretation cannot be clearly substantiated by the material preserved in the *Kephalaia*. In this respect they are not in harmony with Photius' preface to the law book, *Epanagōgē*, promulgated around 886. Here Photius still declares that 'the peace and prosperity of the citizens, in body and soul, depends on the concord of the kingship and the priesthood.' But he elevates the patriarchate to a position equal with that of the emperor.<sup>48</sup>

The proper title of this *Fürstenspiegel* is:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΞΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΤΙΚΑ  
 ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΑ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΑΚΡΟΣΤΙΧΙΔΑ·ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΣ ΕΝ  
 ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, ΛΕΟΝΤΙ ΤΩΙ ΠΕΠΟΘΗΜΕΝΩΙ ΥΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΥΜΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ:

*Emperor of the Romans Basil's 66 Hortatory Chapters to his Son Leo the Emperor which have the acrostic 'Basil Emperor in Christ to Leo, beloved son and co-emperor.'*

It starts (and ends) with emphasis on education, for this is the main way that leads to virtue. Immediately after this, the second chapter deals with religion.<sup>49</sup> For education teaches that the ruler should achieve self-control, but religion enables him to do it. There is a strict observance of the religious dogma here: 'Turn your head to the

<sup>47</sup> Jenkins, *Byzantium*, p. 196-7, Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 94.

<sup>48</sup> Runciman, *Byzantine Theocracy*, p. 95, n. 33 makes reference to Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum* (Athens, 1931), II, pp. 236-368, where Titulus III deals with the place of the patriarch.

<sup>49</sup> Wilhelm Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel: Agapetos, Theophylakt von Ochrid, Thomas Magister*, Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 14 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), pp. 39-41.

faultless belief in Christ. Worship the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the inseparable and unmixed Trinity, the one and the only God.’

In chapters 2-4, the love towards church, and belief in its teachings like the divine judgement are marked. Priests are described as middlemen to God. Chapter 5 is related with almsgiving.<sup>50</sup> In chapters 6-9, there is mention of diligence, counsel of useful men, virtue and lust.<sup>51</sup>

In chapter 10, there is a mention of emperorship having been given by God to the emperor,<sup>52</sup> but there is no further significant saying. Yet in chapter 14, which is about modesty, there is a hint at the emperor’s being a servant rather than a lord, but not different from all the other men, since ‘we are all men, we have just one lord, the only Lord over everything.’<sup>53</sup> At the end of the work there is a hint at death and the deadliness of all earthly things:

No one among men is immortal, no one among men is without sin, no one among men knows the judgement on his life, and no one knows the end of his own life, for that stays hidden forever.<sup>54</sup>

Among ethical precepts there are almsgiving, care for a righteous life, self-control and the combat against passions, the hortation for a low, humble demeanour in life as opposed to arrogance and proud, and the cultivation of peace.

There is a wide spectrum of various topics which are ordered so as to provide in their first letter (in the Greek original) the acrostics: *Basil Emperor in Christ to Leo, beloved son and co-emperor*. Hence, there were repetitions, and no integrity of ideas was observed within the work except the overall idea of giving beneficial advice.

Thus, there is nothing which can be called original in Photius’ *Fürstenspiegel*. This is not surprising since almost every Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel* is in fact an

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<sup>50</sup> col. XXIV.

<sup>51</sup> cols XXIV-XXVI.

<sup>52</sup> col. XXV.

<sup>53</sup> col. XXVIII.



opportunity for the author to show off his training and display his literary background.<sup>55</sup>

The writing of this *Fürstenspiegel* was possibly a routine job for Photius, since he was the only person in the prince's vicinity with the ability to educate him in affairs of the state. As in the case of Theophilus (above), Leo surpassed his illiterate father in almost every discipline, and was one of the true scholar-emperors of his time. However, Leo proved to be ungrateful and deposed Photius when he ascended to the throne in 886.

Thus, having seen the attempt of the brilliant patriarch to educate and maybe to influence the young emperor, and his failure, it will be time to discuss the Photius' role in the legitimisation of the expansion of the Byzantine influence into Bulgaria.

### **Patriarch Photius and *Letter to Khan Boris of Bulgaria***

Before 863, as the pagan king of Bulgars (and Slav tribes within them), Boris was the first among equals. His rivals in political rule were the boyars who claimed legitimacy from their pagan religion in the belief that they were given their status by divine choice. In 863, Boris wished to become Christian and decided to convert his people too. A modern interpretation of the reasons for his conversion is that he would ensure his personal rule over his nation which was a loose federation of the Bulgars and Slavs.<sup>56</sup> These two people were not only separated from each other by their customs and rites but they were also further divided into clans. This was not a pleasant political situation since Boris wanted to establish Bulgarian presence in the

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<sup>54</sup> Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, p. 40.

<sup>55</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought,' p. 56.

<sup>56</sup> John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), p. 118.

region firmly. According to Boris' plan, by becoming Christian his people would evolve into a united tribe.

Instead of Byzantium, Boris sought a mission from the Franks,<sup>57</sup> with whom he had been in contact because of Moravia, their mutual neighbour, which was extending its power.<sup>58</sup> Boris deliberately did not choose Byzantium because of its relative proximity and because of Boris' fear of Byzantine intervention. Rather he wanted an independent Bulgarian patriarchate under his own rule, not one controlled by Constantinople. Therefore, he requested Frankish missionaries to prevent Byzantine intervention, just as the Moravian ruler, Rastislav, had requested Byzantine missionaries in order not to fall under the domination of his strong Frankish neighbour.<sup>59</sup>

However, the Byzantines did interfere. After their victory over the Arabs in 863 and, encouraged by this, they threatened Bulgaria with a fleet. The Bulgarian armies were then engaged in an attack against Moravia; hence Boris was compelled to agree to the introduction of the Byzantine clergy into Bulgaria and was himself baptised in 863. His baptismal father was the emperor Michael III, whose name the new convert adopted.

Three years later, the boyars revolted against the new legal system which Boris-Michael was trying to implement. This system modelled a state more on the Byzantine pattern than on old Bulgarian customs. The privileges of boyar families were to be abolished.<sup>60</sup> Boris-Michael suppressed the revolt, but he was also concerned about the strong Byzantine influence. He asked the Byzantine patriarch

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<sup>57</sup> Fine, *Medieval Balkans*, p. 118; Janet L. Nelson, (trans.) *Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 136-7; Timothy Reuter, (trans.) *Annals of Fulda* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 33, 49 n. 4, and 56.

<sup>58</sup> Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 118, notes that Boris had allied with Louis the German in 863 against their common enemy, the Moravians; Reuter, *Annals of Fulda*, p. 37.

<sup>59</sup> Fine, *Medieval Balkans*, p. 118, and Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, p. 230.

Photius if Bulgaria could have its own patriarch. He also posed various questions to Photius about practical issues, common religious rites, and the everyday life of the Christian. Photius' reply is the second text to be examined in this chapter. Fine makes the comment that:

Instead of responding to the specific questions Boris asked him, [Photius] wrote a long and pompous treatise on the duties of a Christian prince, as well as a detailed history of the church (focusing on doctrine, esoteric theological disputes, and church councils from centuries past). On receiving this, Boris, not surprisingly, felt rebuffed.<sup>61</sup>

In *Patrologia Graeca*, the proper title of this *Fürstenspiegel* is *EPIST. VIII. Photii sanctissimi patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistola ad Michaellem Bulgariae principem; de officio principis*, that is, *Letter VIII. Letter of the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, to Michael, the prince of Bulgaria; on the duty of the prince* (c. 866). But the Greek original points out that this is 'from the letter' (εκ της ... επιστολης):

Φωτιου του αγιωτατου πατριαρχου της Κωνσταντινουπολεως εκ της προς Μιχαηλ τον αρχοντα Βουλγαριας επιστολης, Τι εστιν εργον αρχοντος. Probably it is part of even a longer text but no source mentions it.

Photius starts with the importance of having accepted the true catholic faith which will hopefully bring salvation to the new convert, and right after this comes the comment that this conversion should be solidified with proper education.

In fact, he starts doing this immediately, for he describes and gives information on the seven ecumenical councils of the church in chapters 6 to 20. He says that these

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<sup>60</sup> Fine, *Medieval Balkans*, p. 119.

<sup>61</sup> Fine, *Medieval Balkans*, p. 120.

councils have proved to be a palisade around the central theme of the Christian faith, which focuses on the Nicene Creed which he immediately quotes.<sup>62</sup>

Then he starts the routine of giving advice and instructions, but the initial stricture is:

It observes at the office of the prince, not to have in mind so great a consideration of his own salvation, but with equal attention and forethought to take care of the people entrusted to him so that he would be called to the recognition and perfection of God. Therefore do not behave so that we may lose our hope, to which your favour to virtue has invited us with easy compliance. Please do not refute those toils and agonies as our vain undertaking and do not render them worthless. Those we have taken upon ourselves joyfully taking charge of your salvation.<sup>63</sup>

The rest of the treatise, like the one for the prince, is a mixture of different concepts without observing an order, nor thematic integrity. Still, it is not as scattered as the instructions in the *66 Hortatory Chapters* and it may be suggested that Photius might have been following the order of Boris' questions.

A recurrent element is the insistence on virtues (e.g., 'Benevolence is the best basis for ruling, not fear',<sup>64</sup> 'With virtue a lord can make a big city from a small city',<sup>65</sup>) and the wholesale acceptance of a catalogue of them; that is, not to accept some and neglect others.<sup>66</sup> Another was the control of anger, which consumes the soul if left unchecked.<sup>67</sup>

Hence, the treatise continues with these minor exhortations until the section between chapters 105 and 116, in which he becomes a little more subtle regarding the essence of rulership and warns Boris: not to be surprised by everything new he sees; to remain calm and accept the reality as it is. In whatever way he chooses to rule, Photius recommends that he keep his subjects happy since, he says, it is easier to

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<sup>62</sup> Chapter 4, col. 629.

<sup>63</sup> Chapter 21, col. 655-658.

<sup>64</sup> Chapter 45, col. 672.

<sup>65</sup> Chapters 47 and 48, col. 674.

<sup>66</sup> Chapter 85, col. 683.

<sup>67</sup> Chapters 88-91, col. 685.

move against a hated ruler than against a hated enemy.<sup>68</sup> He ends his letter with the hope of Boris' complying with these exhortations and instructions.

In conclusion, Photius makes a perfect example of the Byzantine statesman who would have a full grasp of both theological and secular education ready at hand, so as to write such a letter without once quoting from another authority. His initial chapters exhibit Byzantine aloofness based on the realisation of the superiority of their position in the hierarchy of states and, whereas Photius becomes intimate when giving guidance on earthly matters and adopts the character of a father. Throughout the letter, he addresses Boris as his 'son' which reflects Photius' superiority as Boris' tutor in Christian faith, but also the former's stronger political position.

Thus, the letter to Boris reflects more vividly the character and manifestations of the Byzantine court culture in the state, a culture whose main characteristic was the confidence in its philosophy and the manifestations of which could be perceived to day as arrogant.

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<sup>68</sup> Chapter 115, col. 693.

## CHAPTER 4

# CONCLUSION

In the introduction, this study began with a definition of the genre of *Fürstenspiegel* and an examination of the earliest historical example, *ad Nicoclem* of Isocrates from the early-fourth century BC. The analysis of this treatise has been used to demonstrate the characteristics common to all subsequent examples of *Fürstenspiegel*.

The following, I argued, are the essential characteristics of the genre: the depiction of the kind of world in which the prince lives; a definition of rulership with its relations with other powers in the world; the expectations from the prince; and, a display of the conduct of the ideal prince and of the danger to be encountered if such conduct is neglected.

Next, an overview of the tradition of *Fürstenspiegel* was undertaken. Throughout this overview it was seen that, since *Fürstenspiegel* are a connected and consecutive part of the written remains of a culture, they can be used to indicate the differences between selected societies. By comparing the line of evolution or changes through which this genre has passed and by comparing the authorities which some of the texts used, a number insights can be deduced concerning the cause of differences between societies.

Examples of *Fürstenspiegel* from the Carolingian and the Byzantine empires during the ninth century were chosen as case-studies. These two empires are considered as heirs to the Roman Empire, in whose political culture the concept of the *Fürstenspiegel* had played an important role -- as illustrated by the works of Seneca, Dion of Prusa, Marcus Aurelius, and Julian I. The fact that the documents are all from the ninth century caused an appropriate co-incidence in comparison of the two societies at the end of the same period of time after the division of the Roman Empire.

In the second chapter, in which the Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel* of Jonas of Orléans and Hincmar of Rheims were analysed, it was seen that these two authors endeavoured to implement a heavily religious style of rulership as dictated and supervised by the clergy. Whereas in the third chapter, in which the Byzantine *Fürstenspiegel* were examined, it was argued that the influence of the practical political needs were more important than an abstract concentration on the vices and virtues of a ruler.

It had been assumed that in the late Roman Empire there had been a more or less uniform type of education at court which involved tutoring by professors of philosophy, or higher civil officials, to which a *Fürstenspiegel* was sometimes added. A speculation had been made that after the disintegration of the Roman Empire, in the West the Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel* examined reflect a situation in which religious ideas formed by ecclesiastical authorities discard the secular points of interest and try to dominate the intellectual basis of their instruction with extensive support from the religious authorities of the past, even distorting the documents occasionally.

However, in the East the properties of the *Fürstenspiegel* are observed to possess a more continuous essence. These treatises were more bound to the personal background of the authors and to the rest of the institutions of the society, and they reflected a more worldly view in their exhortations, although they are quite religious in their tone as well. They do not claim to be the only texts by which rulers are educated, for they are in constant contact with the traditional Byzantine court culture, which permeates the personalities of the emperors, and establishes a more or less permanent conveyance of the qualities the rulers should adopt.

Hopefully, this study of the *Fürstenspiegel* has been to a certain extent beneficial in demonstrating the main differences between the two societies that can be deduced

from these selected documents. After the partition of the Roman Empire, its eastern and western descendants started to evolve into different commonwealths. The western half did not inherit many of the civil/secular characteristics of its progenitor, but the eastern half continued them and subjected them to gradual changes. Church happens to be the more resilient of these properties, and when the authors of the *Fürstenspiegel* wrote their treatises, they relied on mainly ecclesiastical culture, and did not exploit many of the genuine properties of the Carolingian empire. Because of the lack of a dominant court culture focusing on the government of the realm, the clergy gradually found it possible to address greater control over the lay authorities. This brought about their argument of the supremacy of the bishops and the idea of the subjection of temporal power to sacred episcopal authority. Eventually, this basic discussions would evolve into more abstract and secular discussions on the nature of government, and hence to works of genuine political thought.

However, in the Byzantine Empire, the continuation of most of the Roman institutions and their preservation through life at the imperial court did not permit the development of such ideas as new candidates to the practice of power, which was exclusively the emperor's. There had been clashes between the lay and the ecclesiastical authorities on such religious issues as the formulation of faith, but the status of the emperor *vis-à-vis* the church was more or less definite and -- more important for the case of *Fürstenspiegel* -- the continuity of the ideology of rulership was not monopolised by the clergy; and for that reason, not all of the Byzantine material on rulership came from ecclesiastical authors.

In conclusion, upon the authority of the *Fürstenspiegel*, the Carolingian Empire has a much more other-worldly design than the Byzantine, where the imperial court is



still competent in dealing with both the ecclesiastical and secular matters in a totally temporal manner.

## APPENDIX

### *ADMONITIO OF DE INSTITUTIONE REGIA*

**149**<sup>1</sup> To the noblest lord, most famous with regard to his descent, his beauty and his wisdom, to the most glorious king Pippin, Jonas, the least servant of the servants of Christ, hoping the best of life present and to be.

That such an amount of time ran out without my realising of such an understanding of your share in the royal office, of such a devotion with regard to the divine cult, of such a zeal in the fear and the love of God, of so much of humility towards the sacerdotal ministry – qualities, which I learned recently with the aid of the grace of Christ, that are yours – I do not allot it to nothing else but to my stupidity. And not without reason, since I had to replace myself in justice and with loyalty to your power in some way – in whose kingdom I was born and raised, where I was **151** completely educated and where, receiving the tonsure, I dedicated myself to the service of Christ – but I withdrew themselves from there in body but not in spirit, with fear and by hiding myself, or rather escaping from the defamations, the disgraces and the lies of certain devious men, who, with devilish deceit, full of hatred and envy, denigrated my smallness very often in the presence of Your Serenity, without lending attention to what the Lord said through the intermediary of the prophet Isaiah to comfort them whose life is mown by the remarks of the malevolent men:

Do not fear the reproach of others, and do not be dismayed when they revile you. For the moth will eat them up like a garment, and the worm will eat them like wool; but my deliverance will be forever, and my salvation to all generations. (Isaiah 51, 7-8)

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<sup>1</sup> I follow the *PG* style of reference to the translated text, where the bold number means the corresponding pages in Alain Dubreucq's translation in *Jonas d'Orléans: Le Métier de Roi (De institutione regia)*, Sources Chrétiennes, 407 (Paris: Les éditions du CERF, 1995), pp. 149-69.

I would not permit myself to write something to admonish if I did not have the confidence in the magnanimity of Your Greatness, and if I did not know (through experience) of your desire to learn with fervour and to listen with joy to all that touches the love and the fear of God, just as to the salvation of the souls; because, you, following these phrases through which it is said **153**:

He who hardens his ears in order not to hear the law, his prayer will be disgusting. (An amalgam of Prov. 28, 9: 'When one will not listen to the law, even one's prayers are an abomination.' and Deut. 15, 7: '... you do not be hard-hearted...' which Jonas cites from memory.)

renounce from royal fierceness, you show your allegiance to your creator and you give ear of heart and of body to his salutary commandments.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, although you would know before everything, through the grace of the one 'through him every gift is excellent and every donation is perfect' (James 1, 17), that which you ought to do or to avoid, and although you may have at your disposition a big number of counsellors and servants of Christ to do that, but being the most faithful among them, I join their league and, as consequence, I desire with all my powers to be associated to it; therefore one should not consider as absurd or secondary this very small and modest gift of my admonition, emanating from the poor treasury of my heart.

Therefore, my lord, o most serene king, I humbly draw the attention of Your Highness to ponder the manner in which the instants of the world escape in a course without an end; the manner in which its joys come to an end in pain for all the mortals; or again the manner in which honours, and love for them, ceremony, and the delights breed sadness for everyone; and also, the fact that vermine and corruption are

the sons of Adam and, according to what the voice of Lord said to our first father, that 'he is dust and will return fast to dust'<sup>3</sup> As someone has written:

Neither their brawn nor their purple restores valiant kings, every man comes from dust and will be dust.<sup>4</sup>

So, since it is known that this life shows itself to be fugitive and fragile, granted to the mortals full of **155** diverse maladies in their nature and of varied calamities in their misery, each person should see to it that, crushed by some numbness, or seduced of some manner by apathy and heedlessness, he should not disperse in vain of the moments reserved for penitence; but he should rather see to it, incited in a salutary fashion by the prophetic, evangelical and apostolic sayings, he attaches himself to research his creator through penitence, with whom he is removed from sin, and makes himself favourable through the dignified preparation of the penitence and the distribution of alms, conforming to the prophetic saying:

Seek the Lord while he may be found, call upon him while he is near; let the wicked forsake their way, and the unrighteous their thoughts; let them return to the Lord, that he may have mercy on them, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. (Isaiah 55, 6-7)

And this:

Give glory to the Lord your God before he brings darkness, and before your feet stumble on the mountains of twilight. (Jer. 13, 16)

And this saying from the Gospel:

Walk while you have the light, so that the darkness may not overtake you. (John 12, 35)

And this:

See and pray, for you do not know neither day or night.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> From the prologue of the *Rule of St Benedict*: 'Inclina aurem cordis tui', in which this notion is relation with that of admonition. Compare also Gregory the Great, *Homilies on the Gospels*, 18 (MGH Ep. I. p. 251s.). Jonas returns to this in great detail in Chapter 11, l. 115)

<sup>3</sup> Compare Genesis 3. 19: 'By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return.'

And this saying of the apostle:

See, now is the acceptable time; see now is the day of salvation. (II Cor. 6, 2)

And many other sayings, similar to these, are exposed more in detail from the quill of the prophet, of the evangelist and of the apostle.

It is like that, having taken up these salutary exhortations, elevated from the depths to the heights and supported in a confidence and total hope in his creator, each of the faithful avoids without any doubt to collapse, although the world collapses; he holds himself with all his strength at the side of Christ, his saviour, who cannot go to ruin, and say, knowingly, with the Psalmist:

Yes, it is good for me to hold myself at the side of God, to place my hope in the Lord God.<sup>6</sup>

**157** Every man should not the least preserve himself from loving the world more than the heaven, but also from loving this peregrination made of distresses instead of his homeland.<sup>7</sup> Every man should know that he should be a traveller here and a host of passage, and should become a citizen and an inhabitant somewhere else.<sup>8</sup> As the Prophet David says: 'For I am alien to you, and a host of passage like my fathers.'<sup>9</sup>

And the apostle:

For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. (II Cor. 5, 1)

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<sup>4</sup> From Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* IX, 2, 47-49 (MGH Auct. Ant. IV, 1, p. 207). Also in Judith George, *Venantius Fortunatus: Persona and Political Poems*, Translated Texts for Historians, 23 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Combination of Matthew 26. 41: *Vigilate et orate ut non intretis in temptationem* (stay awake and pray that you may not come into temptation) and Matthew 25. 13 *Vigilate itaque quia nescitis diem neque horam* (Keep awake therefore, for you know neither the day nor the hour.)

<sup>6</sup> Dubreucq cites this at Psalm 72. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Allusion to the Augustinian themes of the two cities and of the church in exile; compare *Conf.* 12, 15, 21 and *City of God* 19, 17. The latter theme is retaken by Gregory the Great: *Moralia* 15, 57, 68.

<sup>8</sup> Compare Ephesians 2. 19: So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God.

<sup>9</sup> Dubreucq cites this Psalm 38. 13, which I could not find, but a similar one is Psalm 39. 12.

So since the fragile house of clay of each man, in which one should go, is destined to be annihilated very soon, one should avoid with utmost care that, through love for it, through vain and injurious wild desires, the soul which is of heavenly origin does not ever perish; but one should watch that the exterior man, devoted to corruption, may be submitted to slavery, while the inferior man, renovated day by day is prepared to seize the eternal glory.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, it would be preferable for each mortal not to subsist, rather to be banished from the happiness of paradise and from the community of the saints, of angels, and of humans, because of his pleasures of the flesh, and of the confused and ephemeral joys of the world.<sup>11</sup>

In reality since such is the human condition and the course of this world, it should be that this place and its richness may not be considered by these same mortals as objects of desire, but for their use, according to this saying of the apostle **159**:

Those who deal with the world as though they had no dealings with it. (I Cor. 7, 31)  
and that one knows that the friendship of this world is the enemy of God, as in testimony of the apostle James, speaking so:

Whoever wishes to be a friend of the world becomes an enemy of God. (James 4, 4)

One concludes neatly from these words that no friend of God should espouse the friendship of this world and that he who does it has always been an enemy of the friends of God. This is a very sad and a very deplorable thing, since anyone has these ties of friendship with his enemy and that he loses an eternal and immortal friend, to know his creator, for a harmful and fatal friendship. That is why everyone who are

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<sup>10</sup> Jonas refers in St Gregory to this opposition between the interior man and the exterior man. Jonas associates to these notions the concept of renovation, a fundamental theme of the Carolingian epoch. See W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*, London, 1966, p. 6)

<sup>11</sup> Compare, St Benedict's *Regula* 2. 33.

counted in the number of Christians with their Christian profession should force themselves to watch and study not to postpone their conversion to God, and not to decoy themselves any longer in vain hope in promising themselves a long life, the fact of their youth or of health of their body, knowing that death does not save any age and that for everyone the day of their end is uncertain. Like after having rejected the ancient enemy, and the world which lies under the empire of evil,<sup>12</sup> after having rejected its wealth and having hurled them to feet, that he makes each day the salutary passage from the vices to the virtues, from the visible to the invisible, from the ephemeral to the eternal, in such a manner that at the end of the course of this transitory life, he reaches God through whom, things are created although they do not exist, men are recreated and marked for their salvation with the seal of faith although they were dead, and who learn from him

What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him. (I Cor. 2, 9) <sup>13</sup>

**161** These being exposed with this approach, it is for you in particular, o good king, that addresses again the foreword of my mediocrity.

That is why I pray and request in the name of Lord Your Excellence to condescend to admit for yourself in particular that who has said of a general manner a little before. I again humbly suggest to Your Clemency to ‘love the Lord your God’ always as he should be loved by his worshippers according to the proper prescriptions, that is, ‘with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might’<sup>14</sup> and not to prefer anything

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<sup>12</sup> Compare ‘We know that we are God’s children, and that the whole world lies under the power of the evil one.’ (I John 5. 19).

<sup>13</sup> This reference, although found in the *Regula* of St Benedict (4. 77), like the theme of passage from the visible to the invisible, is found frequently at the writings of St Gregory.

<sup>14</sup> Deuteronomy 6. 5.

to his love.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, you do not need to remember that you ought to love your neighbour as yourself.<sup>16</sup> Because you have shown to everyone's eyes with nobility, that I say, with a memorable manner<sup>17</sup> to which point, you loved that orthodox man, the pious Caesar, our master, your father, that you were submitted to him humbly and faithfully in everything, and at which point you gave bad support to the dishonour<sup>18</sup> which was inflicted on him.

Indeed, with internal prayers, I implore God and exhort you that everyday you will harden in the same spiritual love, with the help of the Lord, not to separate yourself from the love of here in any occasion, or under any counsel and not to afflict it with any manner.<sup>19</sup>

Because, with his testimony, the divine Scriptures, among other passages where it teaches that the son should love and cherish his father, orders that the son 'does not **163** make sad his father during his life.'<sup>20</sup>

At last, the Lord shows that to which point the father should be loved and honoured by his son. In the second tablets of commandments, as the first precept of the duty to honour his father, saying:

Honor your father and your mother, so that your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God is giving you. (Ex. 20, 12)

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<sup>15</sup> Compare St Benedict, *Regula*, IV, 21: 'Nihil amori Christi praeponere.'

<sup>16</sup> Compare Matthew 22. 39 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself.'

<sup>17</sup> Allusion to the events of 830: Pippin and his brother Louis the German are reconciled with their father through the intermission of a monk called Gombaud (Nithard, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, p. 12)

<sup>18</sup> *dehonoratio* is a very controversial term: one can see in it the sense of the lack in honour due to the father or the sense of deprivation of the *honor*, i.e. for Louis the Pious, of his title of Emperor. Jonas plays here on the two senses.

<sup>19</sup> During the fall of 831, Pippin refused to attend to an assembly of his father at Thionville. Jonas puts this in a position of a new sign of insubmission.

<sup>20</sup> Dubreucq cites Sirach 3. 14, but Sirach 3, 12: *Fili suscipe senectam patris tui et ne contristes eum in vita illius*. My child, help your father in his old age, and do not grieve him as long as he lives



Yet, there are other precepts of the Law, of the Gospels and of the apostles concerning the son's love of his father. Whoever honours his father, honours God, who is the father of everyone, and who does not honor him sins against God, because he is father of all and prescribes that a father ought to be honoured by his sons. What of harms, of evils, of the sadness, of the oppression and of the misery have inflicted on the people of God, as Your Excellence knows, the rivalries and the dissension which were raised last year; this kingdom, have been tested with a miserable manner and a great joy was made to the devil and his servants.<sup>21</sup>

But, in my opinion, that is because the Lord have been touched by the prayers of his servants, and because your father, through his acts of piety and devotion, and you and your brothers, our masters, through the reinforcement of your common spiritual love have gained his favour, that he has turned away the war which a devilish frenzy has engaged, and of which the devil was thirsting, was not spread among the citizens *et même au-delà*.<sup>22</sup> You and your brothers, our masters, ought to give to your father the **165** due respect, and a manifest love. In order that your father would exercise the temporal reign and you ought to obey him following the Law, you give for the people who have been confided to you a peaceable and pacific life, and for yourself, in return for a courageous and loyal administration of the ministry which God has entrusted to you, a reign that is never sad with Christ.

That is why, o Lord my king, four points are presented, which are easily seen to be realized with the aid of the grace of Christ, to the great benefit of those who observe them.

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<sup>21</sup> Jonas makes allusion to the revolt of the sons of the emperor in 830.

<sup>22</sup> Compare Lucanus, *De bello civili (Pharsalus)*, I, 1.

Firstly: that everyone, everyday, should be busy more with their soul than their body, and enrich their soul with something, a big hoard, I would say, which he will possess for eternity; because, as we learn from the saying of the Gospel, for every moment of our life, that is, the years, the months, the days and the hours, since God gave us the ability to distinguish between the good and the bad, he will raise the revenue of the good deeds over the fruit of the harvest of our vineyard, that is, our soul.<sup>23</sup>

In the second place: that everyday – except on the one that the priests ought to take counsel concerning his salvation and for conciliating the favour of God – each person should make to his creator a confession of all his sins<sup>24</sup> and that he places them in front of him, saying with the prophet: ‘Because I know my unrighteousness and I always **167** have my sin in front of my face.’<sup>25</sup> Indeed, when somebody places his sins in front of him making a confession to God, he recites to God this small verse saying ‘Turn your face away from my sins and erase all my sins,’<sup>26</sup> and many others which concern this confession and are found in the divine sayings.

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<sup>23</sup> Compare Matthew 21. 33-41: ‘Listen to another parable. There was a landowner who planted a vineyard, put a fence around it, dug a winepress in it, and built a watchtower. Then he leased it to tenants and went to another country. When the harvest time had come, he sent his slaves to the tenants to collect his produce. But the tenants seized his slaves and beat one, killed another, and stoned another. Again he sent other slaves, more than the first; and they treated them in the same way. Finally he sent his son to them, saying “They will respect my son.” But when the tenants saw the son, they said to themselves, “This is the heir; come, let us kill him and get his inheritance.” So they seized him, threw him out of the vineyard, and killed him. Now when the owner of the vineyard comes, what will he do to these tenants?’ They said to him, ‘He will put those wretches to a miserable death, and lease the vineyard to other tenants who will give him the produce at the harvest time.’ An allusion to the parable of the vineyard which represents the people of God, and of the homicide vineyarders. This parable was reported by the three synoptic evangelists. The symbolism of the vineyard refers to the human soul. Jonas uses this theme, and develops it further in *De institutio laicale* III, 13 (PL 106, 257 D).

<sup>24</sup> Compare St Benedict, *Regula*, 4. 57: ... to confess every day to God in prayer ... his past faults.

<sup>25</sup> Dubreucq cites Psalm 50. 5, but it must be another one in the modern versions.

<sup>26</sup> Dubreucq cites Psalm 50. 11, but it must be another one in the modern versions.

Thirdly: That each, everyday, remind themselves of the day of their death,<sup>27</sup> in order that his soul will not redden from the mockery of his enemies when it is pushed out of the body, but rather that he enriches it with good deeds, he results in it which is said: 'He will not lose face when at the door he speaks to his enemies.'<sup>28</sup> Indeed, one should measure the day and the night with care to which point that day and that hour are *redoutables* (formidable, terrible). For this reason, the Scripture warns us so: 'Son, in all your actions, remember your end and never shall you sin' (Sirach, 7, 40). It is true that, if we commit ourselves to ponder in a conscious meditation on this very hour and , since it is inevitable, if we take care to measure to which point it is *redoutable*, we do not dare to sin at all.

Fourthly: We ought to remind ourselves always and examine in thought the day of the terrible judgement<sup>29</sup> which the prophet calls:

Day of anger, day of distress, and of anguish, day of disaster, day of gloom and of dim clouds,  
day of chimes of the trumpet and of clamour. (Soph. 1, 15-16)<sup>30</sup>

and everything that is written on this subject in the divine sayings, the day when we will stand at the tribunal of Christ<sup>31</sup> and when we will have to give account of our deeds, good or bad, which we have accomplished during our physical life, which is once isolated all carelessness or any pleasure of the body. So, with the help of Lord, we ought to prepare ourselves, in order to deserve, when that day will have come, not

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<sup>27</sup> Compare St Benedict, *Regula*, 4. 47: 'Mortem cotidie ante oculos suspectam habere.' This is also found in Chapter III, 12 of *De institutio laicale*, which also cites Sirach 7. 40.

<sup>28</sup> Dubreucq cites Psalm 126. 5, but it must be another one in the modern versions.

<sup>29</sup> Compare, *Regula*, IV, 44: 'Diem iudicii timere' and *De institutio laicale*, III, 17: 'De die iudicii'

<sup>30</sup> Soph. 1, 15-16: *Dies irae dies illa, dies – miseriae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis – clangoris.*

<sup>31</sup> Compare Romans 14. 10: For we will all stand before the judgment seat of God.

to be damned for eternity with the outcasts, but rather to be blessed with the elected<sup>32</sup> and to be chosen with those for the eternal kingdom.

Also, it remains among many other things that charity (*caritas; la charité*) has made me write to Your Highness, if I do not have the fear to exceed the measure of a letter and to *lasser* Your Grace. These issues, passed under silence here, are exposed in the thing that follows after the divine sentences and the sayings of the holy fathers, and put together again in chapters.<sup>33</sup> If you read them yourself or have them read to you by someone else, with the help of Lord, it cannot be said sufficiently how much it will benefit you.

May the holy and indivisible Trinity protect you, o good king, in the inside as in the outside, may it fortify you and defend you against the traps of the visible and invisible enemies, and may it make you share the company of the saint kings after this journey.

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<sup>32</sup> This opposition between the elected and the outcasts is frequently found in St Gregory, which Jonas emphasises, for example in *Moralia*, XI, 9 or *Moralia*, XIII, 32.

<sup>33</sup> This passage shows well that the admonition cannot be separated from the treatise; it constitutes the dedicatory letter.

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